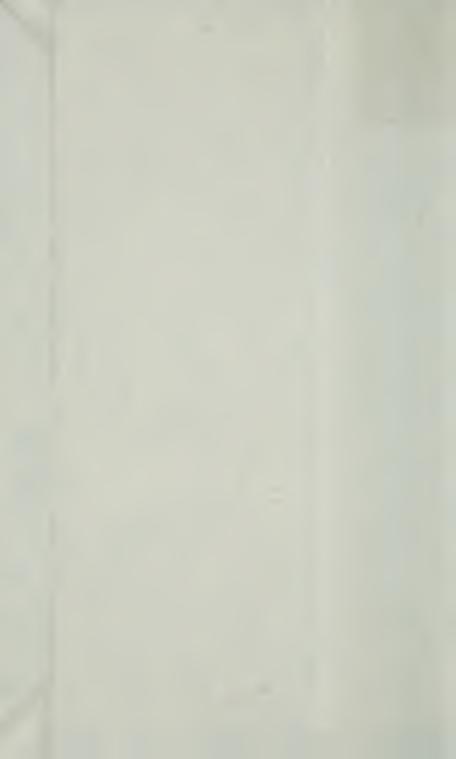


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PILLARS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

OR,

ARE INTEMPERANCE AND IGNORANCE, BIGOTRY AND NFALLIBILITY, CHURCH RATES AND CORN LAWS, ESSENTIAL TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT?

TOGETHER WITH A

SUPPLEMENT TO A SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

THE REV. R. Mc.GHEE,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF

THE BATH PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

BY THE

REV. THOS. SPENCER, M.A.,

Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, neur Bath, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

EIGHTH THOUSAND.

LONDON:

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1841.

TOWN THE PARTY OF



THE PILLARS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

OR,

Are Intemperance and Ignorance, Bigotry and Infallibility, Church Rates and Corn Laws, essential to the existence of the Establishment?

1.—Is Intemperance one of the pillars of the Church of England?-The Protestants of this country have long ascribed the intemperance and poverty of Ireland to the baneful influence of Popery. The Irish have recently forsaken their whiskey, and cast off their rags; and they are rapidly becoming sober and industrious. One would think that Protestants would be delighted with the change; but, from a speech delivered by the Rev. Hugh Stowell, at a recent meeting of the Protestant Reformation Society, we find it otherwise. Amidst the cheers of the Clergy and of the large assembly of Protestants, he says: "I look upon the temperance rally round father Mathew as a dark and ominous circumstance; I have not forgotten that there was just such a rallying in favour of temperance which ushered in the dark and fearful rebellion. I have not forgotten that they dare not trust an Irishman drunk with their dark secrets; and, therefore, they will pledge him to sobriety. I fear more that hush that precedes the burst of the thundercloud than I fear the thunder's peal and the lightning's flasn. I am, therefore, deeply distrustful of the present state of Ireland." It appears then that the teetotal advocate, Hugh Stowell, is alarmed at teetotalism when a Catholic is the promoter of it! When Ireland reels with drunkenness, and bleeds with faction fights, Popery is blamed for the horrid uproar; but Ireland quiet and sober is more alarming still, for Popery has done it all! How different is this spirit when compared with that of the Apostle Paul! These are his words,—"Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will; the one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds; -what then; whether in pretence or truth, Christ is preached, and I therein rejoice; yea, and will rejoice." We are forbidden to do evil that good may come; but

Mr. Stowell forbids the teetotallers of Ireland to do good lest evil may come! Charity, which hopeth all things, would have hoped that the motives of father Mathew, were pure; and when he disclaims all political objects, charity, which believeth all things, would have believed the assertion until contradicted by his conduct. The prodigal son is an object of disgust whilst he feeds on the swinish husks; and of jealousy when he comes to himself and returns to his father's house! Compare the language of Hugh Stowell with that of father Mathew. At the meeting held at Cork, on the 12th of February, he says,-"Gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for the marked compliment you have been pleased to pay me. Our chairman has spoken of me in terms far more flattering than I deserve; for there is none amongst the priesthood more humble than I. If God in his all-wise Providence, is pleased to cause evils to be removed, through my instrumentality, it is only because he chooses the weak things of this world to confound the strong. Drunkenness has been the great source whence many of the worst evils of this country flowed. The trials that have taken place, clearly testify this: for whenever a case of murder, or any other crime, is brought forward, the evidence never closes until the parties guilty of the offence are proved to have been under the influence of intoxicating liquors at the moment they engaged in perpetrating it. Hence arises the necessity that all persons desirous of seeing those crimes at an end should generously come forward and co-operate in the good work, which is now, by the divine assistance, making such rapid progress throughout the land." These benevolent sentiments, constitute the dark and ominous circumstance—the prelude to a fearful rebellion! Father Mathew must not meddle with this reform because the Church of England has a vested interest in the drunkenness of the people! Paul himself must no longer reason respecting righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, lest not only Felix tremble, but the church itself be in danger! The state annually derives fifteen millions sterling from intoxicating drinks; and cannot, without risk of national bankruptcy, dispense with the income. The language of the state is-

"Drink, and be mad, then; 'tis your country bids! Gloriously drunk, obey the important call! Her cause demands the assistance of your throats; Ye all can swallow, and she asks no more."

Like the Siamese twins, the church and the state are so intimately connected, that whatever would cause death to the one must be shunned by the other. Therefore it is that the newspapers devoted to the church declare that "sobriety is the worst of

all signs in Ireland." That acute political writer, the editor of the Examiner, has taken some pains to dispel this alarm; and has most generously offered to the church, in this her hour of necessity, the following advice:-" There is now, unhappily, a surplus of whiskey, as well as of church; and why not adopt the system for the one case which is preserved in the other? The people will not take whiskey. Whose fault is that? Surely not the fault of the whiskey, or the whiskey shops! The analogy is at hand:—the people wont take Protestant doctrines; but is that any reason for letting the Protestant church diminish? the whiskey shops. Charge the teetotallers for the whiskey, whether they drink it or not. Let there be well-paid publicans to fill gills of whiskey, whether there be customers to swill their liquor or not. Keep up the whiskey establishment in every district for the one or two jolly fellows who may remain; or, if there be none, for the chance a toper may arise. Find a Toby Fillpotts, and put him in a dram palace at the head of the whiskey establishment.—And here let us direct attention to the prophetic dispensation of Bishop Phillpott's name, which has cried aloud the remedy against the evil that has now befallen the third part of the United Kingdom-if united we can call a kingdom distracted with sobriety, two-thirds of which are as drunk as ever, and the third altogether given up to temperance, abandoned to teetotalism, steeped to the lips in water."—Examiner of March 29, 1840.

2.—Is Ignorance essential to the Church of England?—We have long been told that Popery delights in ignorance; and that the Catholic priests dread the education of the people, lest they should read the Bible, and be convinced of the errors of their creed. The Catholics have recently endeavoured to instruct the ignorant. Schools, upon the most enlarged principles, have been supported by them; thousands of Catholic children have been taught in them: and, strange to say it, this very attempt to instruct the ignorant gives greater offence than their previous ignorance. Mr. Stowell is angry with the system of education adopted in Ireland, because it pays respect to the rights of conscience. He says, "Look at that education scheme: would that have dared to show its motley, mis-shapen form and hideous face before that bill passed? Would they, before the passing of that bill, have ventured to bring before the eyes of the indignant British public a system of education which is to break up all our land-marks, to throw religion to the winds, and which says, any creed and every creed; and if no creed at all, why better still? But has it not produced any of its effects? Already we find that the church in Ireland has been amputated of onethird of her bishoprics. That is one of the fruits of this bill.

Already we find that church-rates, and other property of the Church of England, are directly invaded and attacked by the Roman Catholics, in face of their solemn oath not to disturb any description of church property in this country." It would appear from these remarks that ignorance is essential to the existence of the church: and that as the comparative sobriety of 1798 nearly overthrew the Protestant church: the entire sobriety which father Mathew seeks will completely overthrow it: that education has already put the church in danger: and that, if it continue, it will throw religion, that is, the establishment, to the winds. An act of parliament which provides the means of knowledge, which consolidates bishoprics for their greater efficiency, and for the better disposal of their enormous wealth, is denounced by the ministers of that Gospel which declares that God is no respecter of persons, but that he accepts all in every nation who fear him and work righteousness. Whilst minister of a church, which asserts the right of private judgment, Mr. Stowell declares that parents shall not have their children educated unless they adopt his peculiar creed. The assertions of Scripture are, "that the soul be without knowledge it is not good;" and "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge: because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me." To whom can this latter passage more aptly apply than to those ministers of the establishment who would take away the key of knowledge?

3.—Is bigotry a part of the Church of England? The term bigot has been in common use, ever since the Reformation, as peculiary appertaining to Catholics; the expressions, a popish bigot, and a bigoted papist, are in the mouths of all fiery Protestants. It was never heard, however, that the Catholics acknowledged the title; still less that they gloried in it. This has fallen to the lot of Mr. Stowell, "I don't know," says he, "that a man can take a better degree in the university of truth, than to be branded by the liberals as one of the blackest bigots on the face of the earth. He is dubbed doctor in divinity when he is dubbed doctor in bigotry in this temple of liberals and latitudinarians. was called bigot; why I love a bigot; I love many Dissenters as bigots; I love the bigoted Roman Catholic, Dissenter or Churchman; I love even the bigoted Socinian, more than the poor, lax, latitudinarian man that has no faith in anything." The words which Mr. Stowell selects as commanding his affectionate regard are thus defined by Dr. Johnson: - "Bigot, a man unreasonably devoted to a certain party, or to certain opinions; bigoted, blindly prepossessed in favour of something; bigotry, blind zeal, prejudice." According to Hugh Stowell the Church of England re-

^{*} Hosea iv 6.

quires unreasonable devotion, blind prepossession, blind zeal and prejudice. Can this be the religion which commands us "to give to every man that asketh, a reason for the hope that is in us;" and, which requires "sound speech that cannot be condemned, that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed?"

4.—Is infallibility essential to the support of the Church of England? The claim to infallibility has been perpetually adduced in proof of the arrogant assumptions of the Roman Pontiff; but what is this to the infallibility of those Protestant Popes, Messrs. Stowell, M'Neile, M'Ghee, and others? The Catholic Relief Bill declared that all loyal subjects, contributing alike to the burthens of the state, should alike enjoy the privileges of the state. Wise statesmen said, "Be it so." All liberal politicians shouted, "Be it so." Mr. Wilberforce and the Rev. Mr. Simeon, who were considered as leaders of the religious Churchmen, echoed the cry; the leading dissenters said it ought to be so; the leaders of the Tory party, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, affirmed that it must be so; both Houses of Parliament assented to it; and the King himself, sanctioned it. Such were the high authorities then; and what is the testimony up to the present time? Many years of prosperity have succeeded. The Catholics, in Parliament, have voted for every liberal and enlightened measure; and in a recent debate, Sir R. Peel thus expressed himself respecting this act-" He was asked if he agreed with those who were seeking for a repeal of the Catholic Relief Bill. He had not hitherto condescended to answer such questions, for he looked upon them as being too contemptible for notice. He was asked if he repented the share he had taken in passing it. Some person, at a public meeting at Exeter Hall or elsewhere, had said that he doubted whether Sir R. Peel did not repent the part he had taken in that measure; and it was not to be presumed that, therefore, he (Sir R. Peel) was to send a letter contradicting this newspaper report! He neither repented the motives on which he had acted, nor the result. As to his motives; if there was any one act of his public life that was strictly virtuous, it was the passing of that act. He need hardly say, that if he considered the passing of the Emancipation Act expedient, he must now look upon a proposal to repeal it as one of the wildest schemes which could well be thought of." But what avail these weighty opinions when compared with the unerring Protestantism of Mr. Stowell? He says-" We shall never consider our work done till we can say that there is not a papist in the British Senate, till the unhappy Roman Catholic Relief Bill has been repealed. We will not let two months pass by, but have a petition for the repeal of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. Yes: and though Sir R. Peel, and the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Stanley, and all the

rest of them should declare themselves against us, by the grace of God we will begin and try what the good sound-hearted middle classes and working men of England will do. Let us do as old Latimer used to say, 'Out with your axes, my boys, and lay them to the root.'"

5.-Are church-rates essential to the existence of the Church of England? An opportunity of avoiding this obnoxious impost was offered to the church. The government devised a scheme by which a fund equal to the whole amount of church-rates might be provided: a scheme insuring the better management of church lands; at once beneficial to the lessees, and injurious to none: but the church refused the proffered boon; and preferred the power of taxing men of other religions, and men of no religion, for the maintenance of its own services. To some ministers of the establishment there seems indeed a peculiar gratification arising from the enforcement of compulsory payments:—The Rev. Ebenezer Morris, Vicar of Llanelly, in a letter to the Carmarthen Journal, says, "If any opposition should he offered by the friends of Infidelity and Popery, (falsely calling themselves Protestant Dissenters,) to the obtaining such funds, I shall be gratified to put the Churchwardens in the way to adopt such measures as will save them harmless, and will oblige the chiefest and stoutest recusants in any parish themselves to make a rate, or be committed to prison until they purge their con-

tumacy."

The Church of England is said to be founded on a rock, based on scripture truth, the Bible only being the religion of Protestants. In the report of the speech of the Rev. G. L. Stone, delivered at the recent meeting at Manchester, we read as follows -" He asked who voted for the abolition of the ten Bishops? Who voted for the appropriation clause? Who voted against the church-rates? The Roman Catholies, who had sworn to defend the Church Establishment." He then quoted from a speech Mr. O'Connell made in 1832, which had these words, "When he swore that he would do nothing against the Protestant religion, he did not swear not to vote for the abolition of church cess and tithes; for he contemptuously defied any one to prove that these were religion." "Now the oath," says Mr. Stone, "stated that they swore to support the present Church Establishment as settled by law in these realms. Was that religion? He (Mr. Stone) would ask what constituted the Church of England? These very things which Mr. O'Connell said he might opposetithes, and cess, and church-rates. What else was it that constituted the Church Establishment of the country? Nothing else!" this then is Mr. Stone's definition of a Church Establishment! Now the 19th article of the Church says, "The visible church of

Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." And if this be the true definition of the "visible Church of Christ," it must also be of that church which is described in one of her formularies as "that pure and reformed part of it established in these dominions." During the twenty years that have elapsed since his ordination, the writer has always imagined there was something more meant in the 19th article than tithes and church-rates; but, according to G. L. Stone it appears that if there be church-rates and tithes, nothing else is wanted! There is no need of preaching, of prayers, of the sacraments, or of the congregation of faithful men. As well may the marriage fee constitute a wedding without the presence or consent of the bride and bridegroom! The Rev. Mr. Stone concludes thus, "He thought he had made out his case, that Roman Catholics ought not to be admitted to the legislature; and now what remained, but that they should unite for the immediate repeal of that foul, that most unconstitutional, that most unprincipled measure, the blackest stain upon the page of English history -the Catholic Relief Bill of 1829."*

6.—Are the Corn Laws necessary to the existence of the Church of England? The Church of England has been called the poor man's church; yet it is contended that its very existence depends upon the laws which double the price of the poor man's bread; which prevent free trade; diminish employment; and, consequently, keep down the wages with which he has to buy this bread. They reason thus:—If we permit the importation of corn in exchange for the manufactures of our industrious population, the plentiful supply will make it cheap; and as the value of tithes is greatest when corn is dearest, cheap bread will reduce the value of church property, and thus free trade will ruin the church! According to the definition of the church given at Manchester, this reasoning is conclusive. "Tithes and church-rates constitute the church;" tithes depend upon the corn laws; therefore the corn laws and church rates constitute the church. To

^{*} These are hard words for a Clergyman to use towards the state which supports him; but the following sentence, in which allusion is made to the head of the Church is still more remarkable. It is extracted from a speech delivered at Lancaster by the Rev. Hugh M'Neil:—"By the Reform Bill the power is invested in the hands of the middling clases, and it was for the English majority to counterbalance the Irish tail. As it is, the Pope rules England; the Pope is the head of the Catholics, Ireland is under the dominion of the priests, and the Irish members give a predominance in the House of Commons; the House of Commons rules the Ministers, and the Sovereign is bound to their guidance. He believed before God and his country that night, that the salvation of the country was in the hands of Protestantism." The reverend orator sat down amid the most rapturous applause.

him who believes that the Church of England is a part of the Church of Christ, it must appear quite incredible that its stability should be endangered by the present endeavour to obtain cheap food and increased trade! and the following passage, quoted from the Bath Chronicle of Feb. 20, will surprise him not a little. After speaking at some length of "the cunningly devised fallacies which the manufacturers, of the North are propagating, for the selfish and despicable purpose of aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the British agriculturists," the editor says, "It is not, we think, sufficiently borne in mind that this Corn Law agitation is, in no inconsiderable degree, abetted because, if successful, it must involve the ruin of the Established Church. Large is the number of the subtle foes to the church who join in the abolition ery for this, and for no other reason, knowing as they do full well, that the withdrawal of protection from the agriculturists must result in the utter ruin of all who are dependent upon the cultivation of the soil; and that, in their ruin, the means by which the church is maintained must be next to entirely lost. This being the case, it behoves every friend to the establishment to take the matter up. It is not, we say, a mere fiscal question, involving only the elevation or depression of particular moneygetting classes; but it affects the very existence of that sacred establishment,, which is the glory and safeguard of England; and with the upholding of which our strength, and even our continuance as a nation, are identified."

How perilous, then, is the condition of the Church of England! Would you remove any abuse? the Church is in danger: for that abuse is claimed by its political friends as one of the pillars on which it rests! Would you make fools wise, and drunkards sober? the church is in danger: for ignorance and intemperance are essential to its support! Would you banish its sectarian bigotry, or humble its self-satisfied infallibility? you risk its very existence! Would you abolish church rates, which wrong the dissenter; or repeal the corn laws, which rob the poor? the church would be annihilated: for these constitute the church! Nay, more; if you let the establishment alone, if you shake not its present pillars, whether they be ignorance, intemperance, bigotry, infallibility, church rates, or the corn laws, still it will fall of itself, unless by church extension, you erect more pillars; unless, leaving the wealth of the ecclesiastical treasury untouched, you persuade the state to appropriate the property of Catholics and Dissenters to its further support. The voice of Scripture is, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" But the ultra-Protestant Churchman requires you to make unequal laws, which is unjust; to imprison for conscience sake, which is unmerciful; and to claim superiority over all other churches and sects in the world, which is anything but humble. If to obey the divine command will put the Establishment in danger; be it so; let the Establishment fall! All who advocate the removal of abuses are described as the enemies of the Church; but they are its real enemies who identify the Church with every evil, and who use it as a shield to protect every abuse! These are the men that drive into the enemy's ranks—

1.—All who desire a system of national education without regard to sect or creed; and these are the wise and patriotic of

the land.

2.—All tectotallers; of whom there are two millions.*

3.—All who maintain the unrestricted right of private judgment in matters of religion; that is, all genuine Protestants.

4.—All who are reviled by the Protestant Reformation Society on account of their creed; and these are the eight millions of Catholics of the empire.

5.—All church-rate abolitionists; and these comprehend the Society of Friends, all consistent Dissenters, and a large number

of liberal Churchmen.

6.—All corn law repealers; and these include all such merchants, manufacturers, and operatives, as understand the evils that oppress them; all landlords, who foresee the consequences of the present system; all patriots and philanthropists, who can penetrate into the causes of poverty; and all Christians, who believe that it is contrary to Scripture to withhold corn from the people; and to keep back the hire of the labourer, by taxing his food.

7.—All political reformers; who, finding the Church standing in the way of every reform, desire its removal in order that they may obtain an extension of the suffrage and a reformed Parlia-

ment, equitable taxation and just laws.

Let the friends of the Establishment remove every obstacle that impedes the march of improvement. Let them promote education and sobriety; liberty of conscience and political reforms; and let them honestly declare—If we cannot give the people knowledge, liberty, commerce, good institutions, and good laws, without endangering the Establishment, let the Establishment perish!

Hinton, near Bath, April 3, 1840.

^{*} The number now exceeds four millions.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

SPEECH OF THE REV. ROBT. Mc GHEE

There is a spurious religion which rejects, as political, all reasoning upon public affairs. The Rev. R. M'Ghee, in his able address in the Assembly Rooms, this day, controverted this error, and endeavoured to rouse the churchmen of Bath to the discharge of their political duties. When the study of politics is not sullied by party strife, it may be made subservient to the Christian religion. Let a man's object be the public good; let him endeavour to attain it by moral means; let him adopt the Will of God as his rule;—then, though he may be called a politician, he is promoting the noble cause of Christianity. Would that the talents and laborious exertions of Mr. M'Ghee were devoted to the improvement of the condition of the people by judicious political reforms! It is easy in an assembly of Protestants to point out the errors of the Catholies, but not so easy to tell Catholic faults to Catholics; or Protestant errors to Protestants. How many things said this day would have applied with equal force to the Pusevite clergy! When the great Head of the Church pointed ont the hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees, he did it to their face; and when speaking to his disciples he cautioned them with like fidelity, that except their righteousness exceeded the righteonsness of the Scribes and Pharisees, they could not enter Heaven. Mr. M'Ghee had many opportunities, in his nearly three hours' discourse, of using such plainness of speech, but he did not avail himself of them. I would supply the deficiency; and suggest, by way of impartial dealing, a conclusion of the following nature :-"I have shown you the necessity of being political; but con-

fine not your politics to the defence of the Church. Wherever you see wrong, set it right, whether it be an individual or a national wrong. If you see ignorance, remove it, whether that ignorance be individual or national. If you see a poor man hungry, relieve him, but not as a beggar or pauper, but by putting him in the way of earning his own living; if you see a people hungry, do what you can to multiply loaves amongst them. If you see a deficiency at home, and a plentiful store abroad, take off the lock of commercial restriction. And you, my reverend brethren, by whom this platform is filled, remember that to preach Christian charity, and the practice of all relative duties, is better

than to preach up the Church, and to preach down Popery and Dissent! Consider the temporal concerns of the people. Remember the charge to the Apostles, of whom you profess yourselves the successors, was, 'Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils, freely ye have received, freely give.' You have not the gift of miracles, but by your influence, time, and money, you may remove much desponding indolence and pauperised leprosy, and you may cast out many an evil spirit of alcohol. Restore manly independence, remove intemperance, set before the people an open door to prosperity—then when you

preach the Gospel they will listen to your word.

"I have shown you this day some motes in the eye of the Catholic, let me now point out a beam or two in our own. You have heard that Catholics call the Protestants heretics; but you also know that it is not uncommon for Clergymen of the Church of England to call the religion of Dissenters the religion of devils. You have heard the Pope's encyclical letter against the circulation of the Bible by the Bible Society. To be candid, however, I ought to inform you that similar sentiments respecting the Bible Society are very prevalent in our Church. The Rev. E. O. Trevelyan has recently sent a printed circular to every house in Hungerford, protesting against the intrusion of that society; in which he says, 'The distribution of the word of God is committed to me alone in this parish,' and 'the clergy who attend this meeting come into my parish without my consent;' and again, 'The Bible Society is a league of all sects and shapes of misbelief, for the purpose of distributing the letter of the Bible without insisting upon the belief of its spirit. Baptists, Independents, Methodists, Quakers, Ranters, Socinians, Presbyterians, belong to it, and there is no law to forbid Infidels. Is this a Christian society? Can all these be right? Can they mean what you and I do in our reading and our circulating the Holy Bible? Now God forbid!' Here then is a claim to a Bible monopoly, a spiritual Corn-Law; and the Bible Society, being for free trade in Bibles, is the spiritual Anti-Corn-Law League! I have informed you that a Catholic Priest took a Protestant Bible with a pair of tongs, and threw it into the fire; I will also inform you that a Protestant Clergyman, near Hungerford, manifesting a similar spirit, has recently torn asunder some Temperance Tracts, declaring with an oath, and with other words too disgraceful to repeat, that they were rascally papers. I have demonstrated that the prophecy respecting 'The Mother of Harlots' is fulfilled in the Church of Rome; you must yourselves have drawn the logical inference respecting the character of her daughters, the Churches of England and Scotland; and you have probably recollected instances in which, for wealth and power, the Church has pros-

tituted herself to the State. I therefore warn you to avoid boasting unduly of your filial attachment to the Church; for if the Church of Rome be the mother of harlots, then are ye bastards, and not sons. I have shown you a picture which represents the casting of forbidden books into the fire, after the manner of the event described in the Acts of the Apostles, and I have demonstrated that it could not be a voluntary act, because a priest is represented as standing by with a drawn sword in his hand. To act fairly. I ought also to tell you that the Bishop of Exeter would have unsheathed the sword of the State, to cause the burning of the New Moral World of Mr. Owen. I briefly alluded to the horrors of the inquisition and of the dungeon, in which men had been shut up for conscience' sake. I now remind you of the gaol of Bedford, in which John Bunyan, the tinker, was confined; and of Chelmsford gaol, in which John Thorogood, the shoemaker, is now incarcerated. I have read to you the curse upon heretics, pronounced by every Catholic Bishop at his consecration; let me now tell you that the canons of the Church of England, from the third to the twelfth, excommunicate all who 'affirm that the Church of England, by law established, under the King's Majesty, is not a true and Apostolic Church;' or who describe any of her services as corrupt, superstitious, or without warrant of Scripture. I have read you the commandments, to show that, in certain Catholic countries, the second commandment is left out, because it forbids the bowing to images; it is right I should also state, that there is a large party in the church called the Oxford Tract Party, who are endeavouring to introduce into our churches, crosses, and pictures, and images, and lighted candles, and other ceremonies and observances of the Roman Catholic worship. Did I say that at Rome the fourth commandment was altered, and that instead of six days' labour and the Sabbath's rest it enjoins the people 'to keep the festivals,' thereby drawing men from their work to the ceremonies of religion by way of gain to the priests. Let me now say that the Corn Laws and taxes upon the necessaries of life, which the clergy support, take two days out of six of the labourers' toil, for the sole benefit of others, and while the church at Rome, in order to enrich the priesthood, permits the people to play on their festival days, that of England, for a like reason, requires them to work. I related some instances of preposterous conduct in the priests, which they justified on the plea that it exercised the faith of the people, and enured them to obedience; let me now mention that the Irish Rector, who keeps a pack of fox hounds, and whose Curate is his huntsman, is also trying the faith of the people in the Protestant I have proved to your satisfaction that the words 'speaking lies in hypocrisy' alluded to the Church of Rome;

it is now for you to say how far prayers for cheap bread, and petitions for Corn Laws are of this character; and how far the pomp of prelacy agrees with the humility and the self-denial of the followers of Christ; and how far the servants of the Prince of Peace, in their lawsuits for church-rates, and claims upon Parliament for public money, follow peace with all men. You have heard of the superstitious observances of days on the part of the Catholics, but in your efforts to control other men on the Sabbath, and in your many prayer meetings, I perceive that ye also are superstitiously worshipping an unknown God; for while you are making long prayers you acquiesce in those laws which devour widows' houses. You give alms to the poor, but you first make them poor by injustice; you associate with the great, and smile upon the abject, but you have no sympathy with industry and independence. Hear then, what God says by the unwilling mouth of me, his servant, 'Your Sabbaths I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. When you spread forth you hands I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when you make many prayers I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.' Instead of enforcing the strict observance of the Sabbath as a day for a man to afflict his soul, and to hang down his head as a bulrush, God's command to you is, 'to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke.' I have read to you an extract that was intended to teach the Catholics that they were to believe the word of the priest rather than that of Christ himself, if he should appear to them in a bodily form; because they might be deceived as to his appearance, but could not be deceived in the unerring teaching of his appointed ministers. I am now constrained to say, that if, in the lowly garb of a carpenter's son, Christ were to enter Christ's church in the parish of Walcot, the Rector, who is one of the twenty clergymen now upon this platform, would not admit him to his pulpit; and, that if Peter the fisherman, and Paul the tent-maker, were, in the humble dress of their occupation, to make it known that they were in the church dedicated to Peter and Paul, the Rector, who is also here present, could not permit them to preach. "I have alluded to the state of irreligion in Catholic countries; truth now compels me to remind you that a great part of the poor of England never enter a place of worship; that multitudes have strayed into the paths of intemperance and infidelity, although six

truth now compels me to remind you that a great part of the poor of England never enter a place of worship; that multitudes have strayed into the paths of intemperance and infidelity, although six millions sterling have been annually paid to ten thousand clergymen that they might teach the people 'to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.' Must I deliver the Prophet's message? and may I request you to cease to speak evil of Catholics and Dissenters, until you have ascertained that to none among you can the words of Ezekiel legitimately apply? 'Wee be to the

shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? The diseased have ye not strengthened; neither have ye bound up that which was broken; neither have ve brought again that which was driven away; neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and cruelty have ye ruled them.' And now let me admonish you to seek the good of the people, and not the enriching of the establishment. Promote freedom in trade; in religion; in the press; and in the election of members of parliament. Support a liberal measure of national education; repeal the stamp duty on newspapers; extend the suffrage; and that it may not be a curse, give the ballot; send men to parliament, who will honestly transact the nation's affairs; open a ready way of emigration from populous districts to fertile regions of the globe. Instead of demanding exclusive privileges, seek to enlighten and persuade men; act upon their minds as the sun acts upon the planets-by light and attraction; then will they regard the Church of England as the centre of good; and then will you truly follow the example of your Lord and Master, who set forth his own principle of action in those memorable words, 'And I, if I be lifted up, will DRAW all men unto me.'"

Hinton, near Bath; May 1, 1840.

Each of the following Pamphlets of the Rev. T. Spencer, weighs, with an envelope, less than half an bunce.

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BY THE

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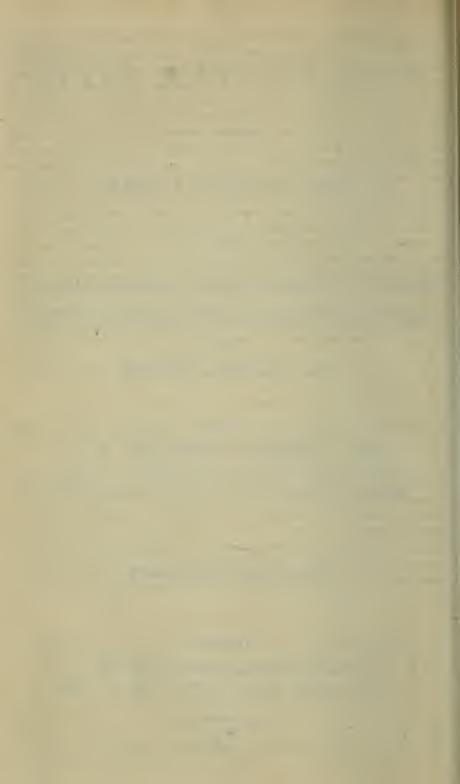
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1841.



THE PRAYER BOOK OPPOSED TO THE CORN LAWS.

Were a clergyman to be present at an assembly at which ministers of the gospel of peace proclaimed "War to the knife;" and, as a practical commentary upon the precept, to render honour to whom honour is due, furiously denounced the government under which Divine Providence has placed us, and urged their hearers to "turn out the beggars:" were he to sit still whilst Protestant clergymen insulted our beloved Queen, insinuated doubts not only of her Protestantism, but of her Christianity; and, in the language of Billingsgate, described her court as unfit for any decent person, and as closed to the entrance of any pure idea: - were he to hear the base double meaning, with the still baser subsequent explanation of the words, "How shall there be peace so long as that woman Jezebel lives!"---were he to be present whilst a young and virtuous Queen is described as having forfeited her crown; as having rendered vacant her throne; whilst the most pointed allusions are made to Charles the 1st, who lost his head, and to James the 2d, who lost his kingdom; and whilst every effort is made to lower the character of the Prince of her choice, by insinuations respecting his religion, his poverty, and the covetousness of his family; if this clergyman were to listen to all that the malice of a faction, disappointed in their expectation of office and emoluments, could dictate; and if to his silent approbation he were to add hearty cheers, and a few words of his own, it admits of a doubt whether any zealous churchman would think fit to rebuke him for occupying a position inconsistent with his profession. But, if a clergyman consider the evils which afflict the poor; if he search into the injustice of the Corn Laws which rob the industrious man of half his earnings; if, in his desire to provide food for the famished labourer, and trade for the unemployed artisan, he accept an invitation to the Manchester Anti Corn Law Banquet; if he be the organ of the vast multitude in humbly supplicating the guidance and counsel of Heaven upon their proceedings;* and if he

^{*} See Anti-Corn Law Grace, page 15.

remain whilst specches abounding with wisdom and benevolence, philosophy and patriotism, are delivered; if he acquiesce in every expression of justice and humanity, and testify his approbation in the sincerity of his heart and the conviction of his understanding: then indeed how is the case altered! Although no disloyal sentiment is expressed; although every argument appeals to common sense, to moral principles, and to political economy; yet, if instead of fiery Protestants there be present an O'Connell and other members of parliament, and distinguished gentlemen holding liberal opinions, then, indeed has this clergyman committed an unpardonable sin; then he calls down upon his devoted head the censure of the friends—of what? of religion? no! of mercy? no! of justice? no! but of the church—of the Establishment!

The writer has been led to these remarks by the following letter received soon after the Great Anti Corn Law Meetings at Manchester.

"Jan. 22d, 1840.

"Sir,—I have sometimes heard, with pleasure, your addresses on public occasions, and feel a respect for the office you fill as a minister of a Protestant church; but I was much hurt in seeing, by the public papers, that you recently took a prominent part at a meeting in Manchester, where some of the leading characters were violent Papists, and avowed enemies to our Protestant Establishment; and, whatever they may say to the contrary, or oaths they may take, you must be AWARE, unless blind to existing circumstances, that they are by every means in their power, seeking to root out Protestantism from our favoured country, and to reëstablish Popery in its stead, with all its attendant horrors; and it is to be lamented that the present disturbed state of the country favours their plans.

"I therefore hope, sir, you will see the force of these remarks, and not again, on any occasion, unite yourself with those who are known

to be the enemies of Church and State.

"A FRIEND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT.
"To the Rev. Thomas Spencer, Hinton, near Bath."

It would not be difficult to prove that it is right to co-operate with others in the great works of mercy and justice, even though their religious creed or political opinions be different from our own. And it will not be difficult to demonstrate that the consistent minister of the Church of England is bound to promote, by all the means within his reach, the repeal of those laws which make food scarce.

It has been asserted by a bishop, in a recent correspondence with one of his clergy, that if there be any portion of the services of the church which a clergyman cannot conscientiously read, that clergyman is bound in honour to give up his preferment. Let this test be

applied to those who support the present Corn Laws, and thousands must leave the church as nonconformists. The object of the Corn Laws is to keep up the price of bread. The owner of land declares that high prices are necessary, in order to enable the farmer to pay his rent; the owner of tithes declares that high prices are necessary, in order to keep up the value of church property. But what says the

Book of Common Prayer?

1.—The minister, in the name of the congregation, prays, "Give us this day our daily bread." The Church Catechism explains that, by the terms, "Give us," are to be understood "to me and to all people;" and that by "daily bread," we understand, "all things that be needful for our souls and bodies." In many parishes the poor cannot get bread to eat, and in most parishes they have not so much as is needful for their bodies. Bread might be had in abundance if Parliament would permit the importation of foreign wheat; and yet the minister who offers this prayer, petitions Parliament not to allow this importation. He asks of God one thing, and of Parliament he asks the very opposite.

2.—In reading the Litany he uses these words, "That it may please Thee to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, so as in due time we may enjoy them;" and yet, by the Corn Laws, the kindly fruits of the earth are locked up in bond to prevent men from enjoying them; and, instead of being preserved for our use, have frequently been spoiled or thrown into the Thames to

escape the warehouse charges.

3.—For a season of scarcity—that is, when, as at present, bread is at so high a price as to prevent the poor from obtaining a sufficient supply, the Prayer Book contains the following prayer, "O God, Heavenly Father, whose gift it is that the rain doth fall, the earth is fruitful, beasts increase, and fishes do multiply, behold, we beseech thee, the afflictions of thy people, and grant that the scarcity and dearth, which we do now most justly suffer for our iniquity, may, through thy goodness, be mercifully turned into CHEAPNESS and PLENTY." The Rector of a parish does not wish for the extreme of scarcity, because it might lead to rebellion; he does not desire to see the people perish with hunger, because he is too humane; but can he conscientiously affirm that he desires CHEAPNESS and PLENTY? If he can, let him petition for a repeal of the Corn Laws! and if he cannot, he is unable under any circumstances to offer this prayer.

4.—When to the hungry inhabitants of Samaria the prophet Elisha predicted a speedy change from scarcity to plenty, "a lord, on whose hand the king leaned, answered the man of God, and said, Behold, if the Lord would make windows in heaven, might this thing be. And he said, Thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat

thereof." And when the abundant supply was brought in from the tents of the Syrians, "so it fell out unto him: for the people trode upon him in the gate, and he died." To this event allusion is made in the following prayer: "O God, merciful Father, who, in the time of Elisha the prophet, didst suddenly, in Samaria, turn great scarcity and dearth into plenty and cheapness, have mercy upon us, that we, who are now for our sins punished with like adversity, may likewise find a seasonable relief." There is seasonable relief at hand for this nation. Do the clergy use suitable means to obtain it? Do they

not rather use means to prevent it?.

5.—When there is abundance of food in the country, the landowner and the tithe-owner complain of ruinously low prices; whilst,
at the same time, the church, of which the tithe-owner is the ordained
minister, has inserted in the Prayer Book a form of thanksgiving,
"for having turned our dearth and scarcity into cheapness and
plenty." In 1835, when food was cheap and plentiful, did the clergy
use this thanksgiving? Could they honestly use it? In the ministration of baptism there is a form of thanksgiving to God, because it
hath pleased him "to regenerate this infant:" these words a clergyman declined to use, and the Bishop of Exeter, in consequence of his
refusal, administered to him a public rebuke. In the county of
Cornwall, a clergyman has recently addressed several public meetings
in favour of the Corn Laws, asserting that dear bread is essential to
the agricultural interest and to the clergy. Ought not the Bishop to
call upon this clergyman to reconcile his opinions with the prayers

and thanksgivings for cheapness and plenty?

6.—The Prayer Book sets forth, as the principle of action, the consideration of the wants and wishes of others. It says, "My duty towards my neighbour is to love him as myself; and to do unto all men as I would they should do unto me." But when his neighbour, the manufacturer, or the merchant, asks for leave to pursue his honest trade, and give food and employment to operatives at home, and clothing and employment to labourers abroad, the clergyman says, "It is for the selfish purpose of money getting; and thus to comply with your wishes would involve the ruin of the Establishment." The clergyman has a neighbour receiving nine shillings a-week, with which to support himself, a wife, and five young children. The whole sum is required for bread and potatoes, leaving nothing for rent, fuel, clothing, or the education of his children; whereas, if he might buy food of the foreign grower, he would have two or three shillings a-week to spare for these purposes. In this case, what is the meaning of the words "to do unto all men as I would they should do unto me," which the minister teaches his neighbour's children?

7.—In the evening service, alluding to that divine Being whom the clergyman professes to call his master, we read, "He hath filled the hungry with good things, but the rich he hath sent empty away;" and yet the clergyman defends the cause of the wealthy. Dr. Adam Smith saw this in his day, and in his "Wealth of Nations" says, "The clergy naturally endeavour to recommend themselves to the sovereign, to the court, and to the nobility and gentry of the country, by whose influence they expect to obtain preferment;" and he adds, "they are very apt to neglect altogether the means of maintaining their influence and authority with the lower ranks."
To the christian it is said, "mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate;" and the command to the disciples of Christ is "to preach the gospel to the poor." Will the poor receive the laws of God from him who supports the Corn Laws? Will they look for spiritual food to him who keeps back part of their daily bread? The founder of our religion was himself poor, and he dwelt among the poor. He commended to the especial regard of his followers the interests of those who were too poor to make any return. He pronounced the good Samaritan to be the best of neighbours, because he undertook the cause of the man who fell among thieves; and his words to his followers are, "Go and do likewise."

8.—Whilst the Prayer Book abounds with general supplications "for all sorts and conditions of men," it contains special prayers "for all those who, in this transitory life, are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity." In the Litany we read, "That it may please thee to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows, and all that are desolate and oppressed." A noble earl has endeavoured to reconcile the working classes to the existing Corn Laws by telling them that their abolition would not add more than a shilling a-week to every family; a clergyman stated at a public meeting, at which that noble lord presided, that the abolition of the Corn Laws would greatly injure his lordship's estate. Was this to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows? Was it not rather to defend the powerful, and provide for those who have enough already? To the industrious labourer every penny is precious; and a shilling a-week would pay his rent, or support one of his children. If the loaf, which formerly cost 5d., now costs 10d., the effect upon a man with a large family is the same as if three shillings a-week were deducted from his wages. The number requiring parochial relief is increased by it; the expense of maintaining them is increased; the ratepayer has more to pay for them, and more to pay for the food consumed by his own family. Comparatively few of the ratepayers are in affluent circumstances. In the Bath Union, 3000 ratepayers are rated for premises not exceeding £10 a-year; and many hundreds of them not exceeding £5 a-year. Besides the effect produced upon the poor ratepayer, there is the person with a small, but fixed weekly pension; the widow, with her small annuity; and all that vast portion of society whose income is the same, whatever be the price of bread. On all these the laws which make food scarce and dear act, with a desolating and oppressive effect. These laws the Clergy generally support; and yet, every Sabbath-day, they pray that God will "defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows, and all that are desolate and oppressed." The repeal of the Corn Laws will ultimately benefit all classes; but if one class must suffer, which

of them ought to be the peculiar care of the Clergy?

Such, indeed, would be the care of the clergy, if the homilies were regarded, rather than ecclesiastical property. The language of one of these homilies is very striking :- "In relieving their hunger, ye relieved mine; in quenching their thirst, ye quenched mine; in clothing them, ye clothed me; and when ye harboured them, ye lodged me also; when ye visited them, being sick, or in prison, ye visited me. For as he that receiveth a prince's ambassadors, and entertaineth them well, doth honor the prince from whom those ambassadors do come; so he that receiveth the poor and needy, and helpeth them in their affliction and distress, doth hereby receive and honor Christ their master, who, as he was poor and needy himself whilst he lived here amongst us to work the mystery of our salvation, so at his departure hence, he promised in his stead to send unto us those that were poor, by whose means his absence should be supplied; and, therefore, that which we would do unto him, we must do unto them."

9.—In the communion service, the church enjoins the communicant "To be in perfect charity with all men." Now commercial intercourse promotes charity among nations; whereas commercial restrictions, with their preventive soldiers, partake of the nature of war. Abundance of work and cheap food promote charity at home; whereas want of employment and dear bread cause discontent. The foreign merchant has a ship laden with wheat, and he wishes to take back clothing in exchange; the English merchant has a warehouse full of clothing, and he wants food for his operatives; the landlord forbids the exchange; the church has sufficient influence to induce the landlord to forego his unjust claims, and to promote charity among the parties; but the church joins with the landlord, beats the drum ecclesiastic, trumpets to the world that there is danger to religion, and sows the seeds of enmity and strife amongst the different classes of the community.

10.—Let the candid Churchman mark the petition, "That it may please thee to give to ALL NATIONS the spirit of UNITY, peace, and

concord," and say whether it does not convey the impression that all who offer it are members of one great family; children of one common Father, "who hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." The Prayer Book expresses no desire to estrict the commerce or to impede the prosperity of any portion of the human race. Its comprehensive prayer is, "That it may please hee to have mercy upon all men." It renders unto the Father of all nercies, "most humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness and oving kindness to us and to all men." It implies that all classes are nterested in the prosperity of each other, and that the whole earth ejoices in the blessings conferred on any part. In our prayers we lo not dictate to a bountiful Providence the time and place in which our wants shall be supplied: as in all other cases, we expect the plessings we require only in the use of suitable means; and, therefore, when the famine was sore in the land of Canaan, Jacob was thankful when he heard there was corn in Egypt. In this manner, too, the prayer for daily bread, which is offered by a British Christian, may be most mercifully answered by a rich harvest in the plains of America; this will provide work and wages as well as food; and will employ ships as well as labourers. That the gold of one country, the corn of another, and the manufactures of a third, should be made universally serviceable, is evidently consistent with the will of Him, who gave to every land its various produce. In order to derive the intended benefit, nothing is wanted but perfect freedom of commerce, and full liberty to the world's great carriers, the merchants, to bring commodities from places in which they abound to places in which they are scarce. Then will self-interest and commercial enterprise accomplish that abundant supply and that steadiness of price which no act of Parliament can produce. The Corn Laws are suited to the days of the Saxon Heptarchy, rather than to the advanced period at which England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland together with vast regions in every quarter of the globe, are brought under the rule of the same monarch. The Corn Laws breathe the spirit of jealousy; they treat Poland and Spain with a suspicion only surpassed by the dread which the Chinese government entertains of free intercourse with Europeans. Will the Clergy support these laws which keep nations asunder? How, then, do they conform to the principle involved in the petition, "to give to all nations the spirit of unity, peace, and concord?"

11.—If ministers of the church were to execute the commission to "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," if they would act up to the spirit of the prayer, "that thou wouldest be pleased to make thy ways known unto them, thy saving health unto all nations," they would advocate free trade; for where ships

go, missionaries may go, and bibles may be sent.

So long, however, as the character of the evangelist is merged in that of the tithe owner, appeals of this nature will be made in vain. Nothing moves the man whose self is his god but an appeal to his Supposing it to be true that the Corn Laws protect the wealth that is deposited in the ecclesiastical treasury, they provoke an impoverished people to place a powder magazine near that treasury; and when it is too late, it will be found that the determination to keep all, has caused the loss of all. There is more danger from the Corn Laws than from the self-adjusting system of free trade. Although the folly of physical force has brought the Chartist agitation into disrepute, yet discontent is still on the increase amongst the industrious classes. A moral agitation is rising in its place, that will accomplish the overthrow of every unjust monopoly. Already the question is openly discussed, before intelligent audiences, whether the established church is useful or injurious. Already have able writers begun to solve the problem—What is to be done with ecclesiastical property? Already is it suggested to apply it to the purposes of national education, or towards the liquidation of the national debt. Already are men of a prophetic turn describing the episcopal church that shall take its station amongst the religious denominations of England, similar to the episcopal church of the United States.

Another bad harvest would probably bring the affairs of our country to a crisis; we cannot much longer pay gold for wheat; and when a commercial panic or a momentary embarrassment arrives, then will the clergy learn that there are dense masses of people in our manufacturing districts that are unemployed, hungry, desponding, and becoming more desperate every day. A Christian minister in the Shetland Islands throws some light upon the state of things in the north, and makes some observations on the prospects in the south that are worthy of attention. In a letter addressed to the present writer he says, "I believe that the additional sweat that drops from the brow of fallen man, in procuring money to pay as a tax on food, is extracted from his frame, not by the appointment of heaven, but by the restless, domineering, and destructive passions which frequently make man a curse to his fellow-man. It is my opinion that amongst the 30,000 in these islands we could not find 20 persons who would not rejoice to see the Corn Laws repealed to morrow. It is true that we have had no anti-corn-law lecturers amongst us, but still we have been learning. Our school-master has been going through the country, teaching us most effectually the value of bread, and the necessity of cheap bread to the starving poor; his name is WANT, FAMINE, or HUNGER, just as you please to call him. May he never make his appearance in England in the form in which he has been

amongst us, or I fear the Corn Laws will be repealed with a witness! I do think that the possibility of England's being visited with such distressing seasons as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland have experienced should teach our legislators to yield to the reasonable claims of the nation before hunger provokes passion to overcome reason, and both rulers and the ruled regret their misconduct."

If it be said that the Corn Laws have not the tendency here attributed to them, to make food scarce; or which is the same thing, that they do not diminish employment and keep back the wages with which the operative procures his food, it may be asked, For what purpose did a legislature of landowners enact these laws, and why are the landowners opposed to their repeal? If these laws do not produce a benefit to the landowners, at the expense of the rest of the community, let them prove that they are not an interested party by abolishing them. But if it be true, as is most obvious to enlightened and disinterested men, that the Corn Laws are a check upon trade and that they make the food of the people scarce, then will the preceding extracts from the Liturgy plainly prove that the clergy in supporting these laws, are violating their solemn pledge; as it is evident that the PRAYER BOOK, to whose contents they have given their unfeigned assent and consent, is, both in its letter and in its spirit, entirely opposed to the Corn Laws.

THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS, A RELIGIOUS QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Patriot.

Sir,---To feed the hungry, and, by charitable institutions, to alleviate the sorrows of the poor, are considered religious duties. Can the endeavour to bring food within the reach of the poor, by an act of justice---can the enabling the poor to purchase food with their own money, instead of supplicating for it in the shape of alms or parochial relief, be less a religious duty? The new poor law throws the poor upon their own resources; the Corn Law diminishes their resources by causing them to pay as much for one loaf as would suffice for two. The poor may no longer tax the land of the landlord for their support, by demanding relief out of the poor-rates in the shape of wages; yet the landlord still taxes the food of the poor for his support in aid of rent, and for the payment of his mortgages. The ministers of religion, the watchmen of Israel, ought to regard this as an act of oppression. The enemies of negro slavery ought to look upon this partial bondage of their own countrymen with a portion of that sympathy which obtained freedom for the injured

African. On the most moderate calculation, it requires the labour of two days out of every six to pay for the superfluous tax upon food; --- a tax which goes not to the national exchequer; which injures most seriously the manufacturing and commercial interests of this land; which robs the middle classes; which impoverishes the working classes; which in the long run hurts the farmer; and which only partially benefits the persons for whom alone they exist, the 30,000 landlords of the kingdom; the benefit to them being of a very doubtful nature; and, supposing it really to exist, putting their persons and their estates in danger, whenever several bad harvests shall have succeeded each other. The inflammable minds of the suffering people ought not, under these circumstances, to be left to the torch-anddagger principles of the demagogue; but the ministers of the gospel of peace ought to bring the powers of their mind to bear upon the subject in cool and deliberate examination. With a determination to preach the whole council of God, they should, with the utmost eloquence of their tongue, enlarge upon the denunciations made by the apostle St. James against such acts of oppression. Human nature is the same now as when he said, "But ye have despised the poor." "Do not rich men oppress you?" "Go to now, ye rich men; weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them that reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth."

A year ago I thought it my duty to bring this subject before the people of this place, in a sermon from the text, "He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him; but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it." (Prov. xi. 26.) I commend this passage to the careful consideration of every one whose office it is to expound the sacred volume. When the multitudes followed Christ for the loaves and fishes, he sent them away empty; but when they suffered from hunger, without any fault of their own, he multiplied the loaves that were at hand, and distributed among them until they were filled. That which he did miraculously, we must imitate by the use of means; and if the united exertions of all christians could double the quantity of food now to be purchased by the wages of the working men, suffering, as they are, under a high price of bread, or, which amounts to the same thing, low wages, deficiency of employment, caused by no fault of theirs, it becomes most assuredly their duty to exert themselves in this matter. The poor are their brethren; they are included in the petition to their common Father, when they say, "Give us this day our daily bread;" and genuine prayer requires that, to the best of our ability, we strive to obtain the thing we pray for. How much better would it be to deal out a nation's bread to the hungry,

by an act of justice, than to leave them to the casual charities of those imprudent givers who bestow much on some, and none on others; who give most to the importunate, and relieve not the pressing wants of humble and retiring poverty. Nothing is more debasing than that charity which creates a dependant race of paupers; nothing more ennobling than that justice which enables men to support themselves

in industrious independence.

In Scotland, the meeting-houses of dissenters have been opened to the anti-corn-law lecturers; but the Anti-Corn-Law Circular complains, that in England the lecturers have not yet obtained this privilege. I would respectfully ask, why should they not? It is true, that the greater part of the clergy would not open their churches if they could; but it also true that they could not if they would: so that if the dissenters do not open their meeting-houses, the lecturers will not have the opportunity of addressing the large assemblies which would be collected to hear them.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, THOMAS SPENCER.

Hinton, near Bath, Nov. 14, 1839.

FREEDOM OF CORRESPONDENCE & FREEDOM OF TRADE, OR CHEAP POSTAGE AND CHEAP BREAD.

To the Editor of the Bath Journal.

Sir,—A grateful sense and a judicious use of privileges granted by a government must tend to encourage that government to go on and grant more. Seldom has a greater privilege been granted than the Penny Post. It not only assists trade, and brings into exercise the best feelings of separated families, but it enables the philanthropist to do more good, without leaving his own place of abode, than he could formerly do, by means of long journeys, and great expense. That the people are grateful for it cannot be doubted; but as many attempts are made by parties hostile to the administration to depreciate its merits, it is desirable that our gratitude should not be confined to our own breasts. In order to call the attention of others to the duty of acknowledging this great benefit, and at the same time to express my sense of it as an individual member of society, I have written on the outside of letters lately sent by the post, "Thanks for cheap postage."

It is not necessary to specify the particular benefactors in this matter, as they are many. The ministers did not project the scheme, but they consented to take upon themselves the responsibility. Mr. Rowland Hill and Mr. Waliace could not have carried the measure without the valuable aid of the committee of merchants, by whom the

requisite funds and statistical information were supplied. The evidence given before the parliamentary committee, and the petitions presented from all parts of the kingdom, greatly contributed to produce the grand result. Much also is due to the members of both Houses for so readily surrendering their privilege of franking, and to our beloved Queen for consenting to stand upon the same level with her subjects in the using of stamps. It does not become us to exalt any of these at the expense of the rest, and I include them all, when

I say, "Thanks for cheap postage."

Without, however, derogating from the sincerity of our gratitude for the past, there is, in public affairs especially, much truth in the definition that has been given, that "gratitude is a lively sense of future favours." It is perfectly right to continue to ask, so long as our petitions are founded upon justice and the public good; but yet I deprecate the always petitioning, and never thanking; the always pointing out faults to be remedied, and deficiencies to be supplied; whilst at the same time we are not prompt to acknowledge when a thing is well done, or to render a cordial support to those who undertake these arduous works. Obligations are mutual, and the people have it in their power to confer obligations upon a government. Let them not be backward to do this; let them show, by their conduct, that their good offices may be depended upon.

These remarks are applicable to the agitation that is now going on for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Those of your readers who think that the suggestion is worth adopting may at once acknowledge the past, and express their desire for the future, by putting on the out-

side of their letters the following sentence:

"Thanks for cheap postage! May we soon get cheap bread! Free communication with all parts of the empire is good; free trade with all parts of the world is still better."

I have caused a number of copies of this sentence to be printed, of

which the accompanying is a specimen.*

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Jan. 1846.

* The printer of the Anti-Corn-Law Circular, J. Gadsby, Manchester, has them on sale as Adhesive Wafers, and has sold several hundred thousands of them in the form of the accompanying specimen.

THOMAS SPENCER.

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(Extracted from the Anti-Corn-Law Circular.) "ANTI-CORN-LAW GRACE.

"The following was the form of proceeding at the Great Anti-Corn-Law Banquet, held at Manchester, January 13, 1840. Four

thousand persons were present:---

"When all had taken their seats, the Chairman said, on the present occasion, instead of the usual grace, I shall call upon the Rev. Thomas Spencer to ask a blessing, and I request you will observe becoming silence. On this announcement, the vast assemblage was instantly lulled into a solemn stillness.

"The Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton, near Bath, who was at the Chairman's table, to the extreme left, asked a blessing in the following terms: 'O God, the Father of all mankind, of thy bounty it is that we partake of the nourishing fruits of the earth; of thy goodness it is that we have all things richly to enjoy. We bow our hearts to thee with thankfulness for ourselves, and sympathy for those of our fellow-creatures for whom nothing is prepared. O God, when the Saviour of mankind was upon earth, he went about doing good. blessed and multiplied a few loaves, so that the multitudes did eat, and were filled. Enable us, O Father, with our feeble ability, to follow his steps! May we first invoke thy blessing, and acknowledge thee in all our ways; may we ask of thee, with sincerity of heart, and with an understanding of what we ask, to "Give us this day our daily bread;" and in that comprehensive prayer may we include all our brethren. And when we offer that petition, may we, in consistency therewith, use all fit and lawful means to accomplish its purpose. May we consider the call of the poor and needy; may we regard the wants of the industrious, and take such steps as shall better their condition; so that the labourer may enjoy the fruits of his labour, and that the diligent man may eat his own bread. O God, bless the Sovereign of these realms, our beloved and gracious Queen Victoria -- may she reign long over us; may her reign be happy and prosperous; may peace and order prevail in her day; may peace and plenty dwell within our borders; may she rule in thy faith and fear; may she seek to promote thy honour and glory, and the wealth, peace, and godliness of all her people! Bless, O Lord, the great Council of the nation, now about to assemble in Parliament, and direct their counsels; may they rise to the dignity of their exalted station; may they lay aside all personal feelings and party animosities, and rise above all selfinterest and all desire of worldly power and preëminence; and may they seek to do justly, to love mercy, and to govern righteously, always remembering the strict and solemn account which they

themselves must one day give before the judgment-seat of Christ. And at that awful day, may the curse pronounced upon those who withhold corn from the people, never be visited upon them. At that dread day may it never be said to any of our legislators, "Depart from me, ye accursed; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat;" but may they take such steps and adopt such measures, that the labourer may obtain nourishment suited to his labour. And now, O God, bless this assembly of men gathered together to do a great work. Do thou work with them, and for them, and by them. Do thou give success to their noble endeavours. Do thou hear the prayers of the millions whose eyes are directed to this vast assembly, and do thou in thy good time crown all their labours with most abundant success. And to thee shall be ascribed all the honour and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'"

Each of the following Pamphlets of the Rev. T. Spencer, weighs, with an envelope, less than half an ounce.

1THE PILLARS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND	Price Twopence.
2.—THE PRAYER BOOK OPPOSED TO THE CORN LAWS	Price Twopence
3.—RELIGION AND POLITICS	Price Twopence.
4.—PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS ON CHURCH REFORM	Price Twopence.
5.—REMARKS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION	Price Twopence.
6.—CLERICAL CONFORMITY AND CHURCH PROPERTY	
7.—THE CORN LAWS AND THE NATIONAL DEBT	Price Twopence.

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RELIGION AND POLITICS;

OR,

OUGHT RELIGIOUS MEN TO BE POLITICAL?

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF HINTON CHARTERHOUSE, NEAR BATH, AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

NINTH THOUSAND.

LONDON:

JOHN GREEN, 121, NEWGATE STREET: AND SAMUEL GIBBS, 5, UNION STREET, BATH.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

· 3.

OUGHT RELIGIOUS MEN TO BE POLITICAL?

We live in stirring times. The steam ship, the railway, and the penny post give fresh impulse to trade and commerce. moral world new powers are continually coming into use, each producing mighty changes upon the public mind. The strong current of free trade is dashing against the barriers of the Corn Laws. The stream of colonization is conducting families beyond the narrow bounds of their native country to lands that are good and large, in which they may become great nations. The torrent of anti-slavery indignation rushes onwards to wash out the name of slave from the face of the earth. The Peace Society flows as a river to cleanse the courts of law and the fields of battle, in order that the vexations of litigation and the barbarities of war, may give place to courts of arbitration. Men, whose sole object is the conservation of personal or family interests, look upon these things with dismay; but, that the signs of the times are most encouraging, the language of all public societies sufficiently testifies. The Missionary Society declares that the harvest is most plenteous; the Bible Society has already distributed eighteen millions of bibles and testaments, and is determined to place a bible in the hand of every human being; the Peace Society has distributed a million and a quarter of tracts, and declares that its principles are rapidly advancing. The Temperance Society promises success to all other societies, and says if moderate drinkers were not in its way, it would reclaim all the drunkards in the world, and prevent those who are now sober from becoming drunkards. Working Men's Associations have excited universal attention; and, although there have been words spoken and deeds done, of which they may be justly ashamed, yet their charter and their combined arrangements for carrying it out into law, command respect. The first wave of this rising tide brought up the National Petition, with its million and a quarter of signatures. Succeeding waves will be still more effective, until, strong in counsel and virtuous in action, the working men

shall have brought over to their side the upright and intelligent portion of the community. So soon as they take a well-digested bill of rights in one hand, and the law of God in the other, their success is certain. When they shall have put from them the advocates of the torch and the dagger; when by the laws of their institution they shall protest against all appeal to brute force; then will thousands join them in their endeavour to obtain a house of representatives that will honestly transact the business of the nation. One Jonah placed a whole ship's crew in jeopardy: and that society can never prosper whose members would repeal those divine commands-"Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not kill." The sure principle of success is to "overcome evil with good;" and, as in the dispensations of Providence, there is a tendency in human reason to prevail over brute force, so there is a tendency in VIRTUE to prevail over VICE; and, in due time, MIGHT shall be on the same side with RIGHT; and TRUTH shall prevail over ERROR.

Let every man who desires to see the condition of his fellow creatures improved, take courage. All the embankments that have been reared by the selfish against further concessions, however high they may appear, must shortly give way, under the blessing of Providence, before these mighty influences; and the stream of reform shall by and by move on with a force strengthened even by the

parrier placed there to stop it.

Let the religious man duly consider whether he is acting consistently in shunning politics. Let him reflect whether he has not other duties to perform besides those of a domestic and individual character. Are the social obligations of no importance? Who is under such obligation as the Christian, to judge the fatherless, to plead for the widow, and to break every yoke? and surely the most effectual way to do this extensively is by the enactment of good laws, and the repeal of bad ones. Taxes upon the necessaries of life impoverish the working classes. Instead of raising the public revenue from the articles consumed by the poor, it ought to be raised by an equitable property tax; which would lay the burthens upon people's shoulders according to their ability to bear them; and according to their interest in the preservation of public order. But how is redress to be sought except by means which are styled political? Laws which oppress the poor, are the natural fruits of a parliament composed of oppressors. Men get into parliament under false pretences; they call themselves the representatives of the people; whereas if the inhabitants of the town or county which they represent, were assembled in one place, it would appear that their election had been carried in spite of the wishes of the industrious and the virtuous; that the major part of human beings present had been disregarded as not having a vote; and that many of the votes of the remainder had been obtained by bribery and intimidation. He who witnesses this abomination without a protest, and without an effort to redress the grievance, acquiesces in the deed, and helps these oppres-

sors to grind the face of the poor.

If a poor man endeavours to obtain a vote, and that he may vote without bringing ruin upon his family, asks the shield of the ballot, he is charged with a desire to overturn the constitution, and is shunned by religious people as a dangerous person, an infidel, and a rebel; and yet Judge Blackstone declares, that, "according to the English constitution no subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the defence of the realm, or the support of the government, but such as are imposed by his own consent, or that of his representative in parliament." And Sir Thomas Smith asserts that, "every Englishman is intended to be present in parliament, either in person, or by procuration and attorney, of what preëminence, state, or quality soever he may be, from the prince to the lowest person in England." It has also been maintained that "all exclusions from the suffrage, except for infancy, insanity, and crime, must so far detract from and violate national liberty. It is not because a man hath wealth in any proportion, more or less, but because he is a man capable of happiness or misery from the laws of the community, he has a right to share in the framing of those laws." Who then offends against the constitution, he that claims the vote or he that withholds it? Perhaps gross ignorance may be almost as objectionable as infancy and insanity; but what objection can there be to give the suffrage to every man who can read and write? Such a man would be able to read the proceedings in parliament; to judge for himself of the conduct of his representative; and to sign his own name to a petition without being imposed upon as to the nature of its contents.

The Apostle Paul shewed his practical view of public matters. When there was a famine in Judea, he not only made a collection in other countries, but went in person with the sum collected for the supply of the wants of the suffering Christians. When magistrates acted arbitrarily, he compelled them to acknowledge the impropriety of their conduct. When he stood before an unjust and intemperate governor, he reasoned of righteousness and temperance. When he saw that justice was not to be had in one court, he appealed unto Cæsar. When a whole crew were in danger of perishing, he undertook the guidance of the ship. He wrote an epistle to Philemon to obtain freedom for the runaway slave Onesimus. Such too was the conduct of the lamented missionary martyr, John Williams. Amongst the heathen he taught and he worked; he built a ship, a house, a chapel; he taught the natives the arts of reading, writing, and printing;

he assisted the chiefs to make laws; he advised the counsellors of princes; and when he went to introduce the gospel into fresh islands, he took the bible in one hand, and cloth for barter in the other. such conduct right in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and wrong in the island of Great Britain? Is it not in strict accordance with the charge originally delivered by the head of the Church, who, when he sent his disciples to preach, added, "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give?" If, then, righteousness exalteth a nation—if sin is a reproach to any people—it is high time that the reins of government were taken from the careless, the unprincipled, and the ambitious, and given to men such as Daniel, whom nothing could induce to swerve from the path of rectitude. It is high time that the Commons, the Bench, and the Bar, the Town Council, the Board of Guardians, and all the offices of trust in the land should be filled by faithful men, selected according to the rule prescribed to the great law-giver of Israel-"Thou shalt provide, out of all the people, able men, such as fear God; men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." Would that this rule were written in letters of gold upon every royal residence in the world! and that our governors were actuated by it! Then, indeed, the magistrate would not bear the sword in vain; but would be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well.

When a Christian declines to support those institutions which tend to diminish the sum of human misery, or to increase the sum of human happiness, lest he should appear political, let him beware, lest that which he deems spiritualmindedness, be only the love of ease, or the fear of men. If the proprietor of a garden had appointed a man to cultivate it, and a room in which he might wash and refresh himself, would be approve of that man if he were to shun the irksome toil of the garden, and to give himself up to washing, eating, and resting? And yet we have persons, professing to be Christians, who, instead of doing their best to destroy the ignorance, intemperance, and oppression that exist in the world, leave these destructive weeds untouched; enter their study, meditate upon the doctrines of the Gospel, feast upon its promises, rest upon its hopes; and who even profess to look with pity upon those who are delivering the poor that cry, the fatherless, and him that had none to help him, and who not unfrequently pray for them as earthly-minded persons. Persons who spend their lives in what are called devotional exercises, carefully refraining from all interference in public life, are like soldiers who are quite willing to spend their days in performing their military exercises, but who most anxiously avoid entering into active service.

This tendency in religious persons to shun their political duties, has been noticed by the American writer, Dr. Channing, who, in his admirable Address on Self-Culture, says, "Among the best people, especially among the more religious, there are some who, through disgust with the violence and frauds of parties, withdraw themselves from all political action. Such, I conceive, do wrong. God has placed them in the relations, and imposed on them the duties, of citizens; and they are no more authorised to shrink from these duties, than from those of sons, husbands, or fathers. They owe a great debt to their country, and must discharge it by giving support to what they deem the best men and the best measures. Nor let them say that they can do nothing. Every good man, if faithful to his convictions, benefits his country. All parties are kept in check by the spirit of the better portion of the people whom they contain. Leaders are always compelled to ask what their party will bear, and to modify their measures so as not to shock the men of principle within their ranks. A good man, not tamely subservient to the body with which he acts, but judging it impartially, criticising it freely, bearing testimony against its evils, and withholding his support from wrong, does good to those around him, and is cultivating generously his own mind."

Let those who doubt whether religious men ought to be political, consider the converse of the question—whether political men ought to be religious? The commencement of the daily sittings of the houses of parliament by the reading of prayers shows that, in the opinion of those who established the custom, members of parliament ought to legislate under the influence of religion. The presence of the bishops in the House of Lords leads to a similar conclusion; since it has been defended chiefly on the ground that it tends to make the lords religious. The custom implies that our forefathers thought that the lords, in their capacity of legislators, ought to act religiously. The same inference may be drawn from the discussion now taking place between the Establishment and Dissenters. The endeavour, on the one side, to prove that the union of church and state is calculated to make the state religious; and on the other, to demonstrate that ministers of religion, supported by voluntary contributions, would exert a more salutary influence upon the state than those who rely upon compulsory payments, confirms the proposition, that the state, and consequently statesmen and politicians, ought to be religious. But there is a testimony beyond all human authority, which renders it impossible to separate the political from the religious duties of statesmen, and which requires that every political act be religiously done. The language of the bible is, "Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom. I am understanding; I have strength. By me kings reign, and

princes decree justice; by me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth." Prov. viii. 14. That political men should be religious is evidently the opinion of the Church of England, as expressed in the following prayer, "We beseech thee, also, to save and defend all christian kings, princes, and governors! and especially thy servant Victoria, our Queen, that under her we may be godly and quietly governed; and grant unto her whole council, and to all that are put in authority under her, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue." If indeed the soul is immortal;—if this life is a mere state of probation;—if all men are stewards, with various talents and responsibilities;—then must religion be essential to all, and especially to those political persons, whose

good or evil counsels may affect the well-being of millions.

The religion here spoken of is not the religion of a sect or party; mere Church-of-Englandism, or mere dissent; it is not a mere instrument for collecting tithes, or for enriching a popular preacher; it is not a religion of creeds and doctrines—of sacred history past, or of prophecies yet unfulfilled; but it is the atmosphere in which the just man lives; it speaks with his mouth; it writes with his pen; it smites with his hammer; it follows his plough; it stands behind his counter; it presides over him at his desk, and in the social circle; it makes him eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and instruction to the ignorant. Religion, as defined by Dr. Johnson, comprises two things: 1. "Virtue, as founded upon reverence of God and expectation of future rewards and punishments," and 2, "a system of divine faith and worship." It is to these the Apostle appeals when he says, "Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart fearing God; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ; but he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done, and there is no respect of persons." Coloss. iii. 22. Here is virtue founded upon reverence of God and expectation of future rewards and punishments. In a similar manner he addresses those of higher rank: "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye have also a master in heaven." And, as though he regarded "divine faith and worship" as essential to the preservation of upright conduct, he adds in the next verse, "Continue in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving." It was with similar arguments that he alarmed the conscience of Felix, and almost persuaded Agrippa that, though a king, he ought to be a Christian. necessary at the present time to remind ministers of state that the

eye of the Omniscient is upon them; and to exhort princes and peers to do that which is just and equal, knowing that "the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth," and that he is "King of kings and Lord of lords?" Take away religion, and man can no longer put confidence in his fellow man. Banish "virtue as founded upon reverence of God," and the earth will again be filled with violence. Withdraw the scriptures, and you withdraw that gift of divine inspiration which "is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." The bible is given, "that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works:" and the right management of civil society is one of the best of these good works. Take away this fund of good principles, and the only rules which remain to regulate human conduct are the LAW OF THE LAND, and the LAW OF HONOUR. How inferior is their jurisdiction to that which is established within! How inadequate to control men's

I.—The LAW OF THE LAND includes so many statutes, customs, and

precedents, that a man may search a hundred folio volumes before he can find directions for the case which he wants; whereas the Bible is one volume; its commands are ten; even these are summed up in two; and we have a golden rule which supplies the absence of thousands of minute precepts. The law of the land judges by appearances only; it requires the presence of witnesses; these witnesses may abscond or die; they may conceal the truth, or state that which is false; whereas conscience, under the influence of religion, reproves even for secret sins, for idle words, and for evil thoughts. Many of the laws of the land express that which their makers did not intend; yet thousands flatter thousands that they are doing right so long as

passions and self-interest!

may abscond or die; they may conceal the truth, or state that which is false; whereas conscience, under the influence of religion, reproves even for secret sins, for idle words, and for evil thoughts. Many of the laws of the land express that which their makers did not intend; yet thousands flatter themselves that they are doing right so long as they act according to the letter of such laws rather than the spirit of them. It would appear indeed that the study and practice of the laws of the land blunt the moral perceptions; for one of our most eminent lawyers has recently declared, that no man has a right to attempt to judge what the law means, but merely what it says. According to which rule, the command "Swear not at all," does not condemn those who only swear at some. The moral law bears the impress of eternal justice. The influence of religious obligation is of ready application; a good conscience hears and obeys from the heart, as it were a voice from behind, saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it;" whereas the machinery for carrying into execution the law of the land, is sluggish in its operation, acting as it does in the resisting medium of an erroneous public opinion, in which the loudest tongues and swiftest pens are sometimes engaged on the side of the thief, the traitor, and the assassin. Religion requires "that if any will not work, neither shall he eat;" it declares that "the idle soul shall suffer

hunger;" it exhorts all who walk disorderly, "that with quietness they work and eat their own bread;" and if any man obey not this word, it tells us to "note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed;" whereas the law of the land permits and encourages mercenary men to defend the idle and the disorderly; if they can, to obtain an acquittal for the murderer of whose guilt they are conscious; and to insinuate suspicions against others of whose innocence they are certain; and thus, instead of assisting to bring offenders to justice, it invites them to become, for the sake of

gain, accessories to the crime. Scripture requires that prayers be made "for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;" this implies that our actions coincide with our prayers; whereas the law of the land permits a man, for filthy lucre, to defend the cause of an acknowledged traitor; to disregard his allegiance to the sovereign, whose life has been endangered; and to suggest silly letters and foolish conduct, in order that, under the plea of insanity, the criminal may escape. Under the divine law injustice to the poor is especially condemned; but under the law of the land poverty has little or no chance against wealth; the business of the solicitor and the barrister not being to discover "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," but to do their utmost to obtain a verdict for the person who pays for their services. The moral law, too, has been made honourable by the actions of Him who gave it; and His sacred precepts have been exalted by the beauty of His example; whereas the law of the land has been degraded in the eyes of the people by the legislators themselves; amongst the law makers are the greatest of law breakers; if you would seek a gambler, a swindler, a Sabbath breaker, or a man who most extensively promotes drunken. ness, intimidation, and bribery, you may find him in the very Parliament which is making laws against gambling, and drunkenness, Sabbath breaking, intimidation, and bribery. In order that men's conduct may be good, religion requires them to "keep the heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life;" and because "evil communications corrupt good manners," it says, "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them;" and, lest even the telling should lead to the doing, it adds, "It is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret;" whereas the law of the land unavoidably permits men to pander to the baser passions of others; to publish the sayings and doings of robbers and murderers; to make villains their heroes; and prostitutes their heroines; and to give the highest charm their talent can give to deeds of darkness, and to things of which it is a shame even to speak. If then a man would do his duty to himself, to his family,

and to the state, he must be actuated by some higher motive than

any that the law of the land can furnish.

II .- The LAW OF HONOUR will be found equally defective. It is true that men of honour are jealous of their reputation; and it is supposed that this keen susceptibility is a substitute for conscience and for the obligations of religion. It will be found, however, upon examination, that the law of honour affords but a poor standard of right and wrong. In his Moral and Political Philosophy, Dr. Paley says, "The law of honour is a system of rules constructed by people of fashion, and calculated to facilitate their intercourse with one another; and for no other purpose. Hence this law only prescribes and regulates the duties betwixt equals, omitting such as relate to the Supreme Being, as well as those which we owe to our inferiors. For which reason, profaneness, neglect of public worship or private devotion, cruelty to servants, rigorous treatment of tenants or other dependants; want of charity to the poor, injuries done to tradesmen by insolvency or delay of payment, with numberless examples of the same kind, are accounted no breaches of honour; because a man is not a less agreeable companion for these vices, nor the worse to deal with in those concerns which are usually transacted between one gentleman and another. Again, the law of honour being constituted by men occupied in the pursuit of pleasure, and for the mutual convenience of such men, will be found, as might be expected from the character and design of the law makers, to be in most instances favourable to the licentious indulgence of the natural passions. Thus it allows of fornication, adultery, drunkenness, prodigality, duelling, and of revenge, in the extreme; and lays no stress upon the virtues opposite to these."

The LAW OF HONOUR permits the people's representatives to promote their own, and not the people's interests. Whilst the business of empires stands still, men of honour are trespassing upon the world's patience by contentions for power, more suitable to the schoolboys of Eton than to the senators of Great Britain. You enter the House to hear the wisdom of honourable members, and your ears are startled by the most discordant sounds, as of the crowing of cocks, the barking of dogs, the roaring and bellowing of beasts, sounds hardly to be expected in the lowest pot-houses in the land. And yet, with shame be it spoken, to these men is committed the preservation of public order and of public property! How have they fulfilled this trust? Civil society requires that a certain number be appointed for the government of the rest; that such government be provided with funds sufficient for the preservation of order; and that each member of the community shall contribute to the protection of his person and property, in proportion to the quantity of property for which protection

is required. This is the social compact, that taxes shall be paid for protection received. On this implied compact incredible sums have been drawn from the people. What has been done with them? The law of honour, for many years preceding the battle of Waterloo, permitted one hundred millions sterling to be annually expended in the barbarities of an unjust war; and a national debt of eight hundred millions sterling to be contracted; in consequence of which the present generation was born in debt; and future generations must succeed to a mortgaged inheritance. Under its sway, costly palaces have been built; princely incomes have been granted; extravagant debts of royalty have been paid; enormous sums have been divided amongst the families of the great, in pensions, sinecures, and half-pay. Meanwhile the grand purposes for which the taxes were paid, have been left unfulfilled. Towns and villages have been under the necessity of forming associations for mutual protection; guardian societies and prosecution societies have been obliged to do, at additional trouble and cost, the very work for the doing of which, more than sufficient had been already paid; the farmer has been compelled to be his own watchman and constable; and to give his time and money in vexatious endeavours to obtain justice. It is true it has been proposed to meet the evil by the establishment of a police; but it has also been proposed to provide for such police by fresh charges upon the borough rate and the county rate. The law of honour permits the believer in one creed to tax, by means of church rates, the believers in another creed. It gives the aid of British influence to promote the gaudy worship of the idol Juggernaut. It boasts in parliament of an increased revenue from the excise; although that increase is known to be caused by the drunkenness and impoverishment of the people. It allowed slavery and the slave trade; and the efforts of Clarkson and Wilberforce to abolish the traffic in human beings, were zealously opposed by honourable members of parliament. It permits the child of misfortune to be dragged from his bed before day-light, in order to be sent up a chimney, which might be better swept by a machine. It withholds corn from twenty-six millions of people, for the supposed benefit of thirty thousand landowners; and, when the hungry multitudes ask for the corn that is locked up in the warehouses of the Thames, or for the flour that is due to this country from America, the law of honour permits them to perish, rather than require the barrier of the corn laws to be removed. The law of honour cares for none of these things. Give the man of honour wealth, power, and pleasure: he asks no more.

If we would have the bad laws of centuries erased from the statute book; if we would remove the burthen of taxation to the shoulders that ought bear it; if we would place in the hands of every British subject a brief code of laws by which he is to be governed; if we would provide an efficient police, a public prosecutor, and a ready access to justice; if we would teach the rich man to be content with his own riches, and the churchman to support his own church; if we would prevent the meannesses of law, the cruelties of war, the horrors of slavery, and the terrors of starvation; if we would impart to trade, to knowledge, and to religion, the freedom that becomes them: it is necessary that we cease to put trust in mere men of honour: and that we call forth men of principle: men who will do that which is right, be the consequences what they may: men whose integrity is above all price; who can swim against the stream; who can defend the most unpopular truths: men of industry; and not men of pleasure: men who dare to obey God rather than man; and who, when tempted by the allurements of wealth and honour to sacrifice principle and the public good, dare refuse to bow down to the golden image, which either prince or people may have set up.

Political men, therefore, ought to be religious; and although it does not immediately follow that every religious man should become political, yet if from the religious world we cast away all who usurp the honoured name of Christian, whilst they neglect to perform the duties of Christianity, it will appear that no religious man can be spared. So long as proper persons are not to be found to fill places of responsibility, those places will be filled with improper ones. If, at an election, there be no candidate but the mere man of honour, of wealth, or of title, the people will not be able to send a wise and upright representative into Parliament. If, then, all who have political influence ought to be religious; and if the number of the practically religious, who are in other respects qualified, be already too small for the demand, it follows that it is the duty of every religious man to step forth and take a bold and a self-denying part in the

political business of the nation.

Should it be objected that the experience of the present day does not lead us to expect much benefit from the political interference of religious men; that they are as likely to take the wrong side as the right; and will bring with them sectarian prejudices, the dictation of their spiritual guides, or the scruples of a morbid conscience; and that, therefore, their silent neutrality is more to be desired than their active exertions—it may be answered, that there have been many noble exceptions. John Milton, and many others of his day, and many men of piety, genius, and learning, in our day, have rendered great services to the cause of political freedom and prosperity. The greatest improvements in our social condition have ever been owing to men acting upon Christian principles. In his Self-Culture, Dr. Channing says, "The grand distinction of modern times is the

emerging of the people from brutal degradation; the gradual recognition of their rights, the gradual diffusion among them of the means of improvement and happiness; the creation of a new power in the state, the power of the people. And it is worthy of remark, that this revolution is due in a great degree to religion; which, in the hands of the crafty and aspiring, had bowed the multitude to the dust; but which, in the fulness of time, began to fulfil its mission of freedom. It was religion, which, by teaching men their near relation to God, awakened in them the consciousness of their importance as individuals. It was the struggle for religious rights, which opened men's eyes to all their rights. It was resistance to religious usurpation, which led men to withstand political oppressions. It was religious discussion, which roused the minds of all classes to free and vigorous thought. It was religion, which armed the martyr and patriot in England against arbitrary power, which braced the spirits of our fathers against the perils of the ocean and the wilderness, and sent them to

found here the freest and most equal state on earth."

This objection, too, is founded on the erroneous supposition, that the religious persons, whose meddling is so much feared, are ever strictly neutral. None meddle more mischievously than those who profess to take no part in politics; none are more prompt to act at a particular crisis. In their private circle, they act as leaven, silently leavening the surrounding lump. Every paper or periodical that contains liberal sentiments is kept out of sight; the bias is obvious; the vote for a candidate, the signature to a petition, the subscription to a society, the school to which a son is sent, or the governess who is engaged to teach the daughter-all bear the stamp of party, and sanction certain opinions in the presence of children and domestics. It is thus that an immense amount of wealth and influence is, from year to year, thrown into the scale of existing abuses. When any political emergency arrives, the scene resembles that which is described in the 13th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, 50th verse:-"The Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts." It is the devout and honourable women, together with the chief men of a city, who are still exposed to this stirring process; they are periodically alarmed by the cries of "No Popery," "The Church is in danger." In their terror they take the most decided measures; they canvass from house to house; they give to a suspected tenant notice to quit; they withdraw from a disaffected shopkeeper their custom; and yet they have not heard the other side of the story. They have not talked with men of other opinions; or consulted the papers which advocate opposite views. They have not read the debates of Parliament; and have not had the

candour to inquire whether the outcry may have been raised to serve the purposes of a party; but they respond to the stirring appeals of the agitators, and attempt, by overwhelming clamour, to put down all free discussion, till, in their ignorant zeal, they succeed in causing truth itself to depart out of their coasts.* Had these honourable women and chief men been made acquainted with the arguments urged on both sides; had they been led to examine for themselves: to express their opinions and to hear answers to them; had they, by diligent reading and honest conversation, invited the sentiments of liberal men, and permitted liberal papers to lie on their table; in short. had they come to the light, it is probable that the result would have been more praiseworthy. Obstinacy without examination is degrading; it becomes men first to "prove all things," and then to "hold fast that which is good." Could religious men be induced to act thus fairly, the more intelligent would soon be convinced of the folly of their alarm; they would form more enlarged views of men and things; they would rely with more confidence upon a superintending providence; and would join the ranks of those reflecting men who are studying the best means of promoting the world's improvement. Then would be removed from religious men the just reproach, "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." A general measure of reform can never take place until religious men become political; and great things may be expected when that valuable portion of the community is engaged on the side of good government.

Since the publication of the first edition of this little work, the penny post has brought to the writer of it, abundant proof that there s, amongst the intelligent of our land, an increasing conviction hat religion and politics are essentially united. Amongst the encouraging communications which have been received, there is one rom the Rev. B. Parsons, Minister of Ebly Chapel, near Stroud; and author of the justly popular book, Anti-Bacchus. The sentiments expressed in it are so appropriate, that, with his permission, the

ollowing extract is subjoined.

"The Cuckoo-cry 'Political Churchmen' or 'Political Dissenters,"

^{*} The late Rev. Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, was not accustomed to interfere n politics; but at the election for the University, previous to the passing of he Reform Bill, he was stirred up to most diligent exertions. The writer of his was surprised by the arrival of a letter containing an urgent solicitation for its vote, in which that venerable man asserted that the country was in danger rom the possibility of the passing the Reform Bill; and although that letter ailed to produce its intended effect in his case, yet such were Mr. Simeon's udden and energetic appeals to the non-resident Masters of Arts, that the ormer members, Lord Palmerston and the Hon. Mr. Cavendish, lost the election.

is echoed and re-echoed chiefly by those who subsist solely on corruption, and are afraid of nothing so much as that the equitable principles of the Bible should purify the institutions of the land. The chief difference between these slanderers and those whom they malign consists in this: - that they themselves are politically religious, while those whom they decry are religiously political. This is their great offence. The sentiments advocated in your tract are those which I have long preached. They were forced upon my attention by the study of the word of God. More than half the Bible consists of politics. Moses is a writer on politics. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, &c., abound with politics. What political agitators were Elijah and Elisha! O'Connell is nothing when compared with them. The same is true of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, &c.; their books in our day would be called political pamphlets. And I believe that in this age, the dungeon awaits any man of God who shall speak as freely concerning the vices of the government, as did these servants of the Most High. Yet this must be done, or how can government be rendered moral and equitable? and until this is effected, the country will bleed under the iron hand of oppression on the one hand, and of resistance on the other."

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PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

ON

CHURCH REFORM.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M. A.,

Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

REVISED EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

"Go ye up upon her walls, and destroy; but make not a full end: take away her battlements; for they are not the Lord's."—JEREMIAH, 5, 10.

NINTH THOUSAND.

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

1841.

No. 4.

CHURCH REFORM.

THE Christian Religion, when correctly understood, is found to be favourable to knowledge, to justice, to liberty, to peace, and to every thing that elevates the human character. Any society of persons professing to adopt this religion, deserves the name of Christian, when their religion produces these results, and may then be called a true church. Any society which, whilst professing Christianity, favours ignorance or injustice, slavery or war, acts inconsistently with its profession, and must be denominated a false church. The Church of England, being possessed of great wealth and power, it becomes a matter of serious import to every British Christian, whether churchman or dissenter, that the Church of England should be a true church, and should so exercise its vast influence as to be a blessing and not a curse. It becomes his duty to discover the obstacles which impede its beneficial operation, and to point out the changes which time and circumstances have rendered necessary. In such a course he must be prepared for much opposition. They who have an interest in the gross abuses which have crept into existing institutions, will denounce every attempt to remove them; they will permit an unlimited exposure of the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, but they forbid the attempt to examine whether similar errors exist amongst themselves. So long, however, as members of the Church of England persist in putting down all freedom of discussion, they stamp their own character as schismatic. Having urged the right of private judgment as a justification of their secession from the Church of Rome, they give up this first principle of Protestantism, and substitute instead thereof their own infallibility. We have had many Protestant popes; and bulls from Protestant vaticans as full of anathemas as any that ever issued from a Roman pontiff. Let the Church of England be consistent with herself. and cease to frown into silence those who reason and give an opinion. Let her encourage obedience to those sacred injunctions, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world." "Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father, which is in Neither be ye called masters, for one is your Master, even Christ." Great evils have been brought upon the nations professing Christianity by the neglect of these directions. social advantages would have arisen, had due regard been paid to

them. In his admirable work, on "The Improvement of the Mind," Dr. Watts gives to the sincere enquirer after truth, the following cheering encouragement:—"It is certain there are several things in the Bible yet unknown, and not sufficiently explained; and it is certain that there is some way to solve these difficulties, and to reconcile these seeming contradictions. And why may not a sincere searcher of truth in the present age, by labour, diligence, study, and prayer, with the best use of his reasoning powers, find out the proper solution of those knots and perplexities, which have hitherto been unsolved, and which have afforded matter for angry quarrelling? Happy is every man who shall be favoured of heaven, to give a helping hand towards the introduction of the

blessed age of light and love."

Freedom of thought and a free expression of opinion are the birthright of Englishmen; and yet there are few that dare to think and speak for themselves; and their fear may be traced to the persecution which commonly follows the avowal of their sentiments. It is said that Archdeacon Paley would have been made a bishop, but for the offence which certain passages in his work on "Moral and Political Philosophy" gave to George the Third. Be that as it may, Paley well knew the force of this persecuting spirit, and expressed it in the following words:-" As the man who attacks a flourishing establishment, writes with a halter round his neck, few ever will be found to attempt alterations but men of more spirit than prudence, of more sincerity than caution, of warm, eager, and impetuous tempers; that consequently, if we are to wait for improvement till the cool, the calm, the discreet part of mankind begin it, till the church governors solicit, or ministers of state propose it, I will venture to pronounce that (without His interposition, with whom nothing is impossible) we may remain as we are till the renovation of all things." So great, indeed, are the obstacles in the way of an efficient Church Reform, that, whenever ministers of state shall propose it, nothing less than the firm support of an enlightened community can enable them to carry the measure through parliament, or to continue in office until they have effected it. If any attempt to reform the church should pass the Commons, it would be rejected in the House of Lords. It is the highest class, the bishops, dignitaries, and patrons of livings, that withstand the people's wishes. Amongst the professed champions of the church, there are, however, some who protest against its glaring abuses. Sir Robert Peel declared in parliament that, "The ministers of the Church of Ireland, who were spending their incomes in places of mere amusement, or who were neglecting the personal discharge of spiritual duties, were not fulfilling the condition on which the endowments of their benefices were given: and a law should pass to remove those unsightly defects in the Church of Ireland: and with his full consent that law should

apply, not merely to future, but to every existing incumbent. There was no vested interest that could be pleaded against the performance of that high trust, for which alone that interest was given." This agrees with the still bolder declaration of Paley, that, "when a man draws upon the funds, (of church property,) whose studies and employment bear no relation to the object of it, and who is no further a minister of the Christian religion, than a cockade makes a soldier—it seems a misapplication little better than a robbery." Since, then, the subject of Church Reform is one of acknowledged difficulty, and at the same time of paramount importance, I would offer the following practical suggestions:—

1. Let the intelligent inhabitants of every town appoint a committee of inquiry into the ecclesiastical affairs of the district in which it is situated.—This important work may be attended to without interrupting any valuable existing society; and as all the institutions of true philanthropy assist each other, a reform of the abuses of the church would greatly promote all other desirable reforms. Let the duties of the committee consist in investigating the amount of ecclesiastical revenue received by the clergy, and the services performed in return for such revenue; let them report all ecclesiastical sinecures; all the stipends and emoluments of deans, chancellors, prebends, and canons, if there be such in the neighbourhood; let them state all cases in which one clergyman holds several livings; or, having only one, is non-resident, and performs his duty by proxy; how much of the income is given to the curate by whom the work is done, and how much is retained by the rector or vicar. Let all such information respecting sinecures, pluralities, clerical duties and emoluments, be printed and circulated for the enlightenment of the public mind, and as a preparatory step to the forwarding to parliament petitions founded thereon, for a redress of these grievances. In order to embody the statistical information thus obtained, and bring it to bear upon the legislature, let a central committee be formed in London, composed in part of delegates from the towns in which local committees have been adopting such measures; and let it be the business of the central committee to guide the local committees as to the proper times for forwarding petitions to parliament; and to send to them those facts and documents which can only be obtained in the seat of legislation.

The working clergy will have no objection to this: faithful watchmen and pastors will not be alarmed when their services and their remuneration are examined. Those who believe that truth is mighty and will prevail; and that pure and undefiled religion will, after such investigation and removal of abuses, come forth as gold tried in the fire, will indulge no fear as to the result. If there be an outcry that the church is in danger, it will be found to proceed from those interested parties who have indeed brought

the church into danger. When the system which pays plentifully those who render no service, and which keeps back the hire from the labourers who do the work, is in danger, then will they cry aloud who have neglected to do so in their pulpits. They who were silent amidst the drunkenness and pauperism which disgrace our land,—who can witness, without emotion, slavery abroad and oppression at home; -who give their vote to the candidate who will continue to tax the people's food and to destroy the people's trade; - who can see the members of their congregations driven to the poll by landlords and employers to vote contrary to their conscience; -and who express no alarm when bribery and intimidation abound, and when the intoxicating liquors given at elections do more to destroy the morals of their parishioners than ever their sermons did to promote them; -these persons, so insensible to all that is ruinous to man and discreditable to religion, so long as it appears to favour their own interest, become suddenly filled with zeal for religion, when a word is spoken respecting the removal of ecclesiastical abuses. The Pharisees and Scribes of Jerusalem were silent observers of those practices which had desecrated the temple, and which had turned that house of prayer into a den of thieves; but they were full of fury, when, with a whip of small cords, Christ drove out the money changers and overthrew their tables. As were the priests that did eat at Jezebel's table; and the priests that persecuted Christ and his apostles; so are many of the priests of our day. Whilst they pay honour to the saints and martyrs of former ages, they walk in the steps of those who put them to death. Their picture is drawn at full length by the prophet: "His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber; yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter." Isaiah, 56, 10. The church of these men is the church of mammon, and not that church of Christ, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; the church which they admire, and whose danger they proclaim, is the church that has put away the cross and the tribulation, and has sat down side by side with the world which formerly hated it; the church whose warmest supporters may be found amongst the gay and the fashionable, the fox hunting and the horse racing, the drinking, gambling, and duelling portion of society.

The pomp of prelacy may be in danger:—the bishop's palace, his cathedral throne, and his seat in the House of Lords may be placed in jeopardy. The economical simplicity of episcopacy may supersede the costly grandeur of prelacy;—and who will regret this? Will the work be less attended to which bishops have to perform? What that work is, we are told by the Apostle Paul,

in his charge to the elders of Ephesus:-" Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, (ἐπισκόπους, bishops,) to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. For I know this, that after my departure, shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock." Acts, 20, 28. In the primitive church the office of a bishop was declared to be "a good work;" it was attended with much labour and little remuneration. This order of things is now reversed: the office of a bishop is one of great income and little labour; it is a barony, and confers a seat amongst the peers of the realm. When the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them were offered by the tempter to Christ, he rejected them; but when they were offered to those ministers of his who should have imitated his example, they accepted them; yet, before wealth and power were offered to them by Constantine and his descendants, they were plainly warned against the style and title of prelacy and its attendant riches. These were the solemn words addressed to them by the Apostle Peter:-" Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, (ἐπισκοποῦντες, doing the work of bishops,) not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock " 1 Peter, 5, 2. How far the bishops of the Church of England have abstained from the love of filthy lucre, and how far, by their self-denying benevolence, they have rendered themselves fit examples for general imitation, may be seen from the following passage :- "Remarkable it is that notwithstanding all the charities of the bishops, they die richer than any other class of men. By the probates at Doctors' Commons, it appeared in 1828 that the personal property of twenty-four Bishops who had died within the preceding 20 years amounted to the enormous sum of £1,649,000, an average of nearly £70,000 for each Bishop. This was the sworn value of the personal property only, and some of the Bishops are known to have had very large possessions in real property. Now we will venture to assert that in no other profession will it be found that so large an average of wealth has been left by the heads; take the twenty-four last Generals, the twenty-four last Admirals, the twenty-four last Judges, nay, the twenty-four last Merchants, and their personal property will not equal that of the Bishops, nor approach it. So that, after all, the charities of the holy men do not hurt them; and if they live poorer than other men, yet somehow or other they die richer."—Examiner, June 21, 1840.

If any one would trace the causes of ecclesiastical imbecility, let him mark the strange incongruity between the humble life of the Messiah, whose kingdom was not of this world, and the exalted rank of those professed successors of the apostles, who have attained to all the wealth and honours of this world. The digni-

taries of the church have indeed surpassed in secular magnificence the high officers of the State. Whilst the Prime Minister receives £5000 a year, the Archbishop of Canterbury receives £30,000 a year, and the Bishop of London £20,000. The church has been overwhelmed with the treasures which governments and private persons have, in their mistaken zeal, bestowed upon it. Truth has ever prevailed the most, when its advocates have had to suffer reproach for its sake. It was when Christ said "The son of man hath not where to lay his head," that the Pharisees exclaimed, "Behold, all the world is gone after him!" When Christ foretold the success of his religion, it was as the consequence of his suffering for righteousness' sake, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." When he died, as the victim of a state religion, the Centurion, who stood by, could discern the reality and importance of his mission, and was led to exclaim, "Truly this was the son of God." In like manner, when Peter could say, "Silver and gold have I none;" and when Paul worked with his own hands, that he might "make the gospel of Christ without charge," and teach future ministers of the gospel that "so labouring, they ought to support the weak," the church was mighty enough to overthrow Jewish superstition and heathen idolatry, and to turn the world upside down. When Paul would gain many, he made himself the servant of all; and when, in fulfilment of a divine command, he went to bear witness to the truth at Rome, and to propagate the gospel in that great city, which was, as it were, the heart of the world, he went not with outward emblems of grandeur, but he went BOUND WITH A CHAIN; and so eloquently did his chain enforce the appeals of his tongue, that he made converts amongst Jews and Romans, and even in Cæsar's household. Whereas, since piety and zeal have been exchanged for wealth and power, the Church of England, with an income of six millions a year, and with all the patronage of the State, is in perpetual fear of an overthrow. If Christian churches would lay aside the weight of their riches, and the sin of covetousness which so easily besets them, modern infidelity would, in all probability, speedily fall before them.

Many excellent persons have been induced to join in the outery which has been raised against Church Reform, under the idea that it was the religion of the church, the Christian and Apostolic part of it, that was in danger; and of those who have laboured under this false impression, there have been "devout and honourable women, not a few." So far, however, from the true church being in danger from reform, its danger arises entirely from those abuses which the advocates of reformation wish to remove. Those ecclesiastics and expectants of preferment, who originate and keep up this false alarm, have in fact no right to the title of churchmen; their object being to preserve abuses, in order to promote their

own secular interests, and this being directly opposed to the principles of Christianity, they have denied the faith, and are worse than infidels. They are dissenters from the religion of the founders of the Protestant Church. Instead of being followers of the first reformers, who gave up their all for the truth, and who resisted errors and abuses even unto blood, they care only for the honours and emoluments of the church; its golden prebends and rich livings. Many shall come from the east and from the west of the land of non-conformity, and sit down at the last day with Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; whilst the children of the kingdom, the sons of the church, shall be cast out. This was the opinion of Cranmer himself, respecting those clerical persons who possessed the rich cathedral endowments in his day. In a letter to Lord Essex, he says, "Nevertheless, in my opinion, the prebendaries might be altered to a more expedient use. For having experienced, how the said sect of prebendaries have spent their time much in idleness, I think it not to be a convenient state or degree to be maintained and established: considering first, that commonly a prebendary is neither a learner nor a teacher, but a good viander. Then, by the same name, they look to be chief, and bear all the whole rule and pre-eminence in the college where they be resident; by means whereof, the younger of their own nature, given more to pleasure, good cheer and pastime, than to abstinence, study and learning, shall be easily brought from their books, to follow the example and appetite of the said prebendaries, being their heads and rulers; and the state of prebendaries hath been so abused, that when learned men have been admitted into such room, many times have they desisted from their good and godly studies, and all other virtuous exercises of preaching and teaching. Wherefore, if it may so stand with the King's gracious pleasure, I would wish not only that the name of prebendary were exiled his Grace's foundation, but also the superfluous condition of such persons. I cannot deny that the beginning of pre-bendaries was no less purposed for the maintenance of good learning and good conversation of living, than religious men (monks) were; but forasmuch as both be gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offender with the other, it maketh no great matter if they both perish together: for to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paul, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the church of Christ." On which side then would Archbishop Cranmer place himself, if he were alive in our day? Would he not take the lead in the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses?

II. Let the Church Reform Committees ask Parliament to give to the Parishioners of every Parish the right to appoint their own

Ministers.

At present the clergy have separate interests from the people,

and follow separate leaders; sometimes, indeed, they array themselves against the liberties of the people. In order to prevent this, the relative position of the clergy in the community must be altered. Let the clergy depend upon the people for patronage, and not upon the aristocracy, and they will soon find out the virtues and the good sense of the middle and working classes. So long as preferment is in the hands of the crown, the bishops, the nobility, and the country squires, the clergy will continue to look upwards, and to overlook the people. It is natural to men to look to the quarter from whence promotion cometh, to choose for their god the source of their choicest blessings; and, like the Persians, to worship the rising sun. If the tithe-payers, the church supporters, and church frequenters, had the bestowment of the important office of spiritual pastors, the clergy would not continue to look up to the higher classes so much as they now do. The moment they begin to depend upon the approbation of the people for their election and for their continuance in office, they will begin also to feel that they depend more upon their own suitableness and usefulness, and that it is necessary to become "workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." They will begin to think, to speak and to act more boldly; for, such conduct the people will encourage; whilst at such conduct the rich and the great will frown.

The labourer is worthy of his hire, but in all other cases he is chosen by those for whom he labours, and by whom he is paid. For physical maladies, a man selects his own physician; for redress against injuries, he chooses his own lawyer; for the management of municipal affairs, he gives his vote for a councillor; and for the disbursement of the poor rates, he selects a fit person as guardian; and shall he have no voice in the election of the minis ter whom he would hear? When the Gadarenes requested Chr st to depart out of their coasts, he departed; when a congregation invited an apostle, if he had a word of exhortation, to say on, he complied; when "a man of Macedonia prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us," he went; but if men refused to hear, he shook off the dust of his feet and went to another city.

It has been objected that the people are not safe depositaries of this trust; but that they would elect their ministers from caprice, or from party feeling. But from what motives do the present patrons choose them? Are the members of a congregation less competent to judge for themselves than the nobility and gentry are to judge for them? Are the industrious classes less capable of forming a sound judgment in religious concerns than men of leisure? And even if they were, in theory, less competent, do not self-interest and mere bargain and sale practically decide most of these appointments? May we not infer from scripture that the mighty, the noble, and the wealthy, are less inclined to the gospel,

than those who are preserved from the snares of poverty on the one hand, and of riches on the other? When Christ himself preached unto men, although the Scribes and Pharisees were learned in the prophecies, and knew the time when and the place at which the Messiah was to be born, yet, because his doctrines were not flattering to their pride, they rejected him; whereas, "the common people heard him gladly." To the poor his gospel was preached, and upon the poor in spirit his blessings were pronounced; whereas, on the great ones of the earth fell the weight of all his woes. Is it to be supposed that the great ones of the earth are now become the only judges of Christian doctrine and of Christian teaching? and that the rest are to be despised, as unfit to be consulted in these matters? But the people have already furnished something like a test of their discriminating powers; they have decided by their presence what kind of preaching they approve; and it remains for those who think them incompetent, to shew that their choice is injurious to them. In all probability the contrary is the case. The faithful preacher, who speaks the truth, whether the people will hear, or whether they will forbear, who, in building upon the right foundation a superstructure of good works, reproves, rebukes, and exhorts with all authority, may suffer a temporary unpopularity; but when once they are convinced that it is sound speech that cannot be condemned, they respect him the more for his fidelity. In places in which the population is sufficiently numerous to apply the test, it will generally be found that, in proportion as sound argument is applied to the understanding, eloquent appeals to the heart, and practical directions for the life, in the same proportion does the congregation become numerous; and that the common people still hear gladly that same gospel, which they gladly heard eighteen hundred years ago. No reasonable objection to this mode of election can be offered by ecclesiastical authorities, so long as the people make their selection from a set of men who have been examined, approved, and ordained by the bishops themselves; by them sent forth as authorised teachers of religion; and acknowledged as fit and proper persons for the work of the ministry. So long as the people are satisfied that all the candidates shall be regularly ordained clergymen of the Church of England, every objection to give them a voice in the election of their ministers is frivolous and vexatious, and partakes of the nature of tyranny. That this was the custom of the Christian Church, in its purer days, is well known to the reader of ecclesiastical history. The system of buying and selling advowsons and presentations to livings, is an encroachment made in modern times upon the rights of the people. The following is the declaration of Archbishop Cranmer, as published by Bishop Stillingfleet:—"The bishops and priests were one at one time, and were not two things in the beginning of Christ's religion. A bishop may make a priest by the scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed unto them; and the people by their election (i. e. may make bishops and priests.) The people, before Christian princes were, commonly did elect their bishops and priests. In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest, needeth no consecration by the scripture, for election thereto is sufficient."

III. In corporate towns, let the largest church be set apart for select preachers from all parts of the kingdom, after the manner

of the University of Cambridge.

In the University many clergymen reside without any ministerial avocations, and on the Sundays they attend the University Church as ordinary hearers. They can hardly object, if the custom which they have adopted for themselves be taken as an example for the inhabitants of other towns to follow, with respect to their chief churches. At the University Church there is no stated preacher; but there is a constant succession of preachers from amongst the masters of arts, whose names are on the university books. Many of these being scarcely competent to address this learned audience, the custom was adopted of selecting from their most distinguished members an afternoon preacher for every month. These monthly preachers are fixed upon before the academical year begins, so that each of them has ample time to prepare a course of sermons for one month, such as he may think suitable, not only to the heads of colleges, the tutors, fellows and masters of arts, but to the great number of undergraduates, most of whom are intended for the ministry. In these monthly series many admirable discourses have been delivered. The preacher has ample scope to "bring out of his treasures things new and old;" and whilst he has an opportunity to communicate his most valuable thoughts, there is not sufficient time for him to exhaust his materials, or to fall into that monotonous repetition of the same truths, which would give to his sermons a character of dulness. Why should not the intelligent inhabitants of our corporate towns have this privilege? Why should they not have an opportunity of hearing in succession all the most excellent preachers in the kingdom? It would be easily arranged, if the Church Reform Committee of every town were permitted to provide a constant succession of monthly or quarterly The funds which are now received by the stated ministers of such churches, would suffice for the remuneration of the select preachers, and for the payment of their travelling expenses. If the committees of the various towns in the same county made arrangements to that effect, the select preachers might go from one to another, without any great charge for travelling expenses; and with respect to the remuneration to be given for the services rendered, the committee would be guided by the means placed at their disposal. In the University Church, the

sum of two or three guineas is paid for each sermon. If this principle be adopted, the increasing liberality of public opinion would, in due time, permit the committees to select their preachers from the Scotch and American divines, and from the many able, pious, and learned, amongst the dissenting ministers, as well as from the

clergy of the establishment.

In the University Church, at the hours appointed for these addresses to the members of the university, there are no prayers. On the entrance of the vice-chancellor, the organ strikes up, the preacher ascends the pulpit, three verses of a psalra are sung, and the preacher commences. If this custom were adopted in our large towns, the best preachers of various denominations might be made more generally useful than they now are, and their public services would bear a greater resemblance to the missionary labours of the apostles. The Wesleyan system owes much of its popularity to the constant change of ministers; nor is it probable that the immense increase in that denomination would continue, if the travelling preachers were now to be rendered stationary for life in the circuits to which they are appointed. The absence of prayers would remove the obstacles which might keep from the pulpits of our churches those ministers who are accustomed to other forms of worship, but who agree in all essential points of doctrine. So far from being an innovation, it would be a return to the ancient practice, from which the present system is an obvious deviation. When Christ and his apostles preached to the people, they did not commence with prayers. Many who see no need of prayer, would willingly hear a zealous preacher, such as Paul, and and from his preaching might learn the necessity of prayer. When they become true believers, they will pray; but so long as they are unbelievers, the channel through which they receive faith is not the prayers, but the sermon; for "faith cometh by hearing; and how shall they hear without a preacher?" Nor let it be objected that such a method is adapted only to a heathen country; there are large masses of our own people who have cast off all reverence for the Christian religion, and have become infidels; there are multitudes who never enter a place of worship, and who are in total ignorance of all religion. In many towns this is the case with four-fifths of the population. These, even though baptized in infancy, are practically unbelievers; and to these the present system of divine worship renders no service.

IV. Let the articles and liturgy be revised, and greater liberty

allowed to the clergy in the performance of divine service.

The articles, liturgy and canons, are a burthen upon the shoulders of the clergy, too heavy for them to bear. Instead of the thirty-nine articles, there might be substituted the three following propositions:—

1. There is one living and true God; everlasting; infinite in

power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things; whose existence, though invisible, " is clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead."

2. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly fur-

nished unto all good works .- 2 Tim. 3, 16.

3. Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not used therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.*

These propositions declare that there is a God; that he has given us a revelation of his will; and that that revelation is sufficient as a rule of our faith and a guide of our practice. All reference in doubtful matters would be to scripture, and not to articles of human invention; and he would be deemed a Christian brother who is willing to submit to an appeal to scripture as to a final authority. If, however, it be desirable that a summary of Christian doctrine be exhibited, this should be done in the very words of scripture, without note or comment.†

When a candidate for holy orders has passed a satisfactory examination by the bishop, and has signed the above propositions, nothing further should be required than a declaration of allegiance to the sovereign, and of obedience to the bishop of the diocese, in all things lawful, and a promise to perform the services of the

church in the manner prescribed by the liturgy.

The alterations that should be made in the morning and even-

* 6th Art. of the Church of England.

† All the scriptural doctrines that are contained in creeds and articles might be here set forth, but shortness of space will only permit the following texts as specimens:—

Concerning JESUS CHRIST.—"The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,

full of grace and truth."-John 1, 14.

"Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness. God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."—1st Tim., 3, 16.

"This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus

came into the world to save sinners."-1st Tim., 1, 15.

"Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps: who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree."—1st Peter, 2, 21.

On Preaching.—" Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."—Mark 16, 15.

"It hath pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that

believe."—1st Cor., 1, 21.

On the Day of Judgment.—" It is appointed unto all men once to die, but after this the judgment."—Heb. 9, 27.

ing prayers, the services for baptisms and burials, the church catechism, and other services, which require to be considerably abridged or entirely omitted, are described in "Clerical Conformity and Church Property;" and it is unnecessary to repeat in this

place the suggestions which I have there offered.

With a reformed liturgy, few ministers would object to read the prayers, and few congregations to unite with them. At the same time, however useful these may be for ministers who are young and inexperienced, it is clear that greater latitude ought to be allowed to a minister of long standing. The apostle Paul tells us that "They that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus."—1 Tim. 3, 13. If, therefore, the members of a congregation should greatly prefer extemporaneous prayer, and if the minister himself should desire it, a power might safely be vested in the hands of the bishop of the diocese, to permit such minister, having, by the experience of a sufficient term of years, purchased to himself "great boldness in the faith," occasionally or entirely to lay aside the forms of prayer set forth in the Prayer Book, and to lead the devotions of the congregation in the manner most agreeable to them and to himself. Nor could any evil arise, if, to such a clergyman, the bishop were authorised to restore the power which the clergy formerly enjoyed, of substituting for the lessons of the day any other chapters which may be more suitable to the circumstances of the times, or to the discourse which he is about to deliver.

In defence of the suggestion to omit many parts of the prayers, and to grant to the clergy the liberty of changing the lessons, it may be observed that Archdeacon Paley, when pointing out the advantages of forms of prayers, acknowledges the necessity for such changes. He says, "The too great length of church services is more unfavourable to piety, than almost any fault of composition can be. It begets, in many, an early and unconquerable dislike to the public worship of their country or communion. They come to church seldom; and enter the doors, when they do come, under the apprehension of a tedious attendance, which they prepare for at first, or soon after relieve, by composing themselves to a drowsy forgetfulness of the place and duty, or by sending abroad their thoughts in search of more amusing occupation. Although there may be some few of a disposition not to be wearied with religious exercises; yet, where a ritual is prolix, and the celebration of divine service long, no effect is in general to be looked for, but that indolence will find in it an excuse, and piety be disconcerted by impatience.

"The length and repetitions complained of in our liturgy, are not so much the fault of the compilers, as the effect of uniting into one service what was originally, but with very little regard to the con-

venience of the people, distributed into three. Notwithstanding that dread of innovations in religion, which seems to have become the panic of the age, few, I should suppose, would be displeased with such omissions, abridgments, or change in the arrangement, as the combination of separate services must necessarily require, even supposing each to have been faultless in itself. If, together with these alterations, the epistles and gospels, and collects which precede them, were composed and selected with more regard to unity of subject and design; and the psalms and lessons either left to the choice of the minister, or better accommodated to the capacity of the audience and the edification of modern life; the Church of England would be in possession of a liturgy, in which those who assent to her doctrines would have little to blame, and the most dissatisfied must acknowledge many beauties." *

These suggestions are offered for the consideration of intelligent men, in the hope that they may promote those liberal measures of Church Reform which, according to Paley, it is in vain to expect our rulers to originate. Those who are alienated from the Established Church, must not forget that it is still the Church of England, and the church of English men; and that every man has a deep interest in the proper performance of its services, and in the right distribution of its property. Great changes have been effected in it in times past; greater changes may still be effected if wise and upright men would lay aside sectarian differences and unite for their accomplishment. Let patriotic men come forward; let none seek their own interest; let none insist upon their own favourite plan. Whatever is consistent with scripture, reason, and the public good, let it remain; and whatever is opposed to them, let it be done away.

Moral Philosophy.—Book 4, chap. 5.

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REMARKS

ON

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

BY THE

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

Nº 5.



NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The internal prosperity of a nation, and its external influence upon other nations, depend upon the kind of education received by the people. By National Education is generally understood a comprehensive system of instruction for the poor. It has been assumed that the rich already enjoy the advantage of a good education. If, however, we trace the heir of wealth from infancy to manhood; if we see him spoiled at home by indulgence; permitted at school to be idle; passing through College as a non-reading man; and taking upon him offices of dignity and command, before he has ever spent one hour in real study or serious meditation, it is too much to allow that he has received a good education. Nor, on supposition that by diligent application to study, a great amount of classical and mathematical learning has been acquired, would it be correct to call it education. The supposition that a knowledge of classics and mathematics constitutes a good education, arises from our not considering the difference between learning and wisdom. A man may be versed in classical literature and in mathematical

science, and yet have very little practical wisdom.

The present system of teaching, works by machinery: it is intended to teach the largest possible number with the least possible trouble. Young persons are taught in classes in a mechanical manner; and, as in our manufactories, the machinery may be conducted by a boy, so in the National Schools, and in those schools of a higher grade which have adopted that system, the machinery is chiefly in the care of boys; the head master does little more than preserve order, and keep the monitors at their respective machines. In order that children may obtain real wisdom, we must procure for them wise teachers. The only true education of children consists in training them for an honourable course of conduct. But this is not the kind of education given at our National and Public Schools. In them, boys learn their sentiments from each other: the more bold and daring are looked upon as leaders: and their example is sedulously imitated; their opinions are the standard of truth; their will is law. The routine of the present system requires too little thought; it does not sufficiently invite the exhibition of the master's character. It is not enough that he should wind up the clock-work of the school at stated times. His talents would be far more usefully employed in delivering, as occasion offers, stirring appeals to the better feelings of his pupils, and words of wisdom to their understanding: -in bringing to bear upon their minds all the powers of persuasion, when some good is to be implanted, and when some evil is to be shunned.

The judgment and care which have been exercised in improving and properly developing this moral machine, are manifested in the noble sentiments and the disinterested actions which it displays in its movements. On the other hand, the youth who has been placed under a mercenary or inefficient tutor, enters life as a fool, or a tyrant. Not having been trained to exertion, he will be satisfied with the contemptible insignificance of an idle life. He may boast of the merits, wealth, and title of his father; and prove his

superiority to the common herd, by creating a disturbance in the street, by wresting off knockers, by breaking windows, and by assaulting the police; but in all other respects he is a FAILURE in creation; a machine spoiled in

putting together.

If, instead of perpetually hearing the boys repeat in Latin the rules of the Latin and Greek grammar, or listening to the imperfect construing of some Latin or Greek author, the Christian instructor were to persuade the young "to incline their ear unto wisdom, and to apply their heart to understanding; to seek her as silver, and to search for her as for hid treasures"; if he himself were to lead them by the hand to the intellectual mine in which these treasures are hid, and point out the precious metals, and the way to separate them from the dross; if he shewed them that languages are only the ropes by which we are let down into these mines, and that the study of them is but of little use in itself: that science when properly studied is as a ladder by which we may ascend through nature's works to nature's God: and if he were to point out the folly of those learned men who spend so much time in forming a large collection of ropes and ladders, without ever applying them to any valuable purpose, there can be little doubt that they would early resolve to act a wiser part. When a boy begins to learn Latin, let his first lessons be made as interesting as possible. It is too much to expect that he should be pleased with a study the value of which is so concealed. Let him no longer be required to spend seven years of a short life in the exclusive study of Latin and Greek!

It is true that the machinery of education, as now practised in classes, has its value, and cannot be dispensed with. Much benefit is derived from a mechanical system, in acquiring the arts of reading and writing; in committing to memory the rules of grammar, the tables of arithmetic, and the facts of geography and history. Still there should be some opportunity afforded every day for the tutor to infuse life and interest into the scene, and to draw out the various faculties of his pupils. Let him at one time describe the great, the wise, and the good amongst men; and at another, let him illustrate the power of the Omnipotent by the wonders of creation, and his benevolence by the tendency of all things to promote man's happiness. If he is not able to rivet the attention of his pupils to subjects of deep importance, he is not fit for

The best system of instruction, both for rich and poor, is that in which public lectures and private study are duly mixed. Let a well qualified and well paid master deliver lectures to the whole school, at stated periods, say three times a week. After the lecture, let him propose questions on the principal topics of the lecture, and having received answers to them, let him dismiss the boys to their respective employments. Let him not confuse their brains by the mere jingle of words; the deeds of fabulous heroes; and of gods that never existed; the history of nations inferior to our own; and the writings of philosophers who never knew the pure religion, the correct sciences, or the interesting discoveries of modern times. Let him explain to them the principles of natural philosophy, and the beauties of natural history: let him impart to them a knowledge of modern history; of political economy; and of natural theology. Let him teach the more advanced minds reverently to trace out the proofs of the existence of a God; and of the authenticity and genuineness of the Bible. Without leading them to doubtful disputations, let him teach them, as soon as possible, to give a reason for every thing which they believe. Especially let the wonders of astronomy be set before the youthful mind, as being more calculated than any other species of knowledge to elevate the mind to sublime conceptions. Let the soul be caught up into the starry heaven, and placed in the midst of worlds teeming with existence; and let it behold from thence the planet which we inhabit, as an infinitely

small portion of the dominions of the supreme Creator; and whilst the mind is overwhelmed with the attempt to form an idea of his greatness and his power, let it be led to contemplate his goodness towards all the creatures he has made.

It has been correctly asserted that reading makes a full man; conversation a ready man; and writing a correct man. Let due attention, therefore, be paid to each of these in the education of youth. Let them learn to read well, write well, and speak well. Let them learn to read well aloud. In order to create a good taste amongst the learners, let the best readers read in the presence of the rest, in a distinct voice, and with suitable intonations. Let them read the sacred pages of the Bible; the most important portions of ancient and modern history; the best speeches of distinguished statesmen; and judicious selections from our best poets. Let there be provided for private reading, books in which sound principles are communicated through the medium of interesting stories.

Let them also learn to write well; not merely the simple art of penmanship, but of English composition. Most valuable to the young is the early habit of expressing in writing their ideas upon any subject, and there is scarcely any thing in which our commercial schools are more susceptible of improvement

than in the art of composition.

In order that readiness of speech may be acquired, let interesting questions be discussed by the boys in the presence of the master. Let the master watch the risings of vanity and animosity; let him enforce fairness of argument: candour in yielding to conviction; and meekness of temper towards an opponent. Let him prevent all personal invective; requiring the speakers to speak to the point; to use arguments of their own, or to answer arguments that had been already used on the other side, without any unkind reference to individuals, or any attempt at wit at another's expense. Nor let the master make invidious comparisons between the talents and acquirements of one boy and those of another, but let the only form of emulation appear in their endeavour to excel each other in kindness; let them learn to rejoice in the attainments and success of their fellows, and to regret their failures and imperfections. since quarrels will arise and offences will come, and since it is desirable that the master's conduct in such matters should commend itself to the conscience of each of the boys, it would greatly tend to this result, if he were on such occasions to form the whole school into a court of assize; to allow the friends of the respective parties to advocate their cause, to permit the quarrelling or offending parties to speak in their own defence; examine and cross-examine the witnesses; and then to take the opinion of the juvenile court by show of hands or by ballot. The master should then state his decision, expressing his pleasure, if his view coincided with that of the majority; explaining his reasons if he had come to a different conclusion; and giving his opinion as to the candour, courtesy, and good feeling, with which the trial had been conducted.

Education being an apprenticeship, during which the boy is to learn the ways of men, and one of the ways of men of all classes in the present age, being to address public assemblies, it is important that a correct taste in public speaking be acquired and proper motives for it set forth. When the inexperienced speaker stands up to address an audience upon religion, politics, or temperance, he has not unfrequently great zeal for the cause without much knowledge of himself; and the applause of his auditory is apt to make him self-willed and vain; and its opposition excites his anger. By properly cultivating this talent in early life, the evils of self-sufficiency and dogmatism may be checked; and the usefulness of the individual increased in the same proportion. Man is distinguished from other animals by the faculty of speech. "I know of no better proof," says Edward Johnson, "of the divine origin of man, than the solution of the following problem:—Man and the beast of prey being given, to give to

the weaker dominion over the stronger. How beautifully, perfectly, yet simply, has the Almighty Ruler surmounted this difficulty. Man speaks! and the problem is solved." Not only, however, does man maintain his ascendency over the brute creation by the gift of speech, but man exercises influence over man, by the same means. It is by preaching that religion is propagated; it is by speaking that laws are made and nations governed; and it is by this, that individuals in private life exercise influence over their neighbours. "Our power over others," says Dr. Channing, "lies not so much in the amount of thought within us, as in the power of bringing it out. A man of more than ordinary intellectual vigour may, for want of expression, be a cipher, without significance, in society. And not only does a man influence others, but he greatly aids his own intellect, by giving distinct and forcible utterance to his

thoughts."* Let the teacher of youth impress upon them that the gift of speech is one of the noblest gifts of God; that by it we are to make known our thoughts to each other; that every deviation from truth is a perversion of that gift; that to speak for display, for the concealment of truth, or to make the worse appear the better cause, is deserving of contempt; and that he who, in order to serve a party or to gain a fee, speaks against his own opinions, commits an outrage against himself and destroys all that is ingenuous in his nature. Some characters there are who set so little value upon truth, that they will, from personal pique, cease to advocate principles of the highest importance. The most splendid eloquence is worthless when guided by no consistent principle. The first thing required in a public speaker is that he be a man of integrity and good sense; the next, that he shall have the power of convincing and persuading others. The public service requires men who have heads and hearts of their own, and who are determined to use them, fearless of consequences. Time is wasted that is spent in educating the sneaking, cringing, time-serving sycophant, who, for honour or emolument, would betray the best of causes and the best of men. Let the instructor of youth, therefore, separate the chaff from the wheat; let him check the plausible talkativeness of insincerity; and let him encourage those whose modesty inclines them to be silent; and upon their honest sincerity let him engraft a skill in speaking. Let him explain to them what is the legitimate inducement to public speaking: not the desire of notoriety, nor the accomplishment of any selfish purpose; but that every man is bound to contribute to the public good, and that he who thinks he has ideas which might be useful if imparted to others, should impart them. Elocution is valuable as an instrument: let not the teacher of it exalt it for its own sake; let him point out that he is the best orator who is most successful in persuading the greatest numbers to shun evil and to do good; that greatness consists not in expressing great ideas, but in the union of clearness of conception, sincerity of heart, energy of soul, and cloquence of tongue. Great orators have sometimes been base men. That orator is the most noble who, throwing aside the veil of present appearances, and discarding spurious charity and spurious religion, aims at the ultimate good of mankind, considers the tendencies of things, overlooks present inconveniences and partial evils, in the determination to prefer men's universal and permanent welfare. Such a man would never intentionally mislead the public mind; he would not seek the abolition of one kind of slavery by increasing He would recommend universal education, but not by the impoverishment of the people. He would devise means for raising the pauper to independence, but without destroying the independence of the industrious ratepayer. He would redress the wrongs of the poor, without inflicting wrongs upon the

^{*} Self-culture.

rich. He would stop the tyranny of a tyrannical few, but he would not prepare the way for a tyrant mob. He would protest against slavery and violence; but he would not by using violence, risk the peace of society. Eloquence without integrity is a dangerous thing, but of great value to the man of uprightness. A judicious education will never attempt to stop the practice of public speaking,

but will, by precept and example, endeavour to guide it aright.

With this view, let the older boys prepare orations upon important topics, such as our duties to God and to our neighbour; upon justice, mercy, and truth. Let these be delivered in turn, on certain days of the week. On festival occasions let orations be delivered on the character and conduct of great men; both of ancient and modern times. In these orations, let there be no allusion to non-essential points of doctrine or to sectarian differences of creed. The less the young speak on such matters the better. Hackneyed phraseology and technical expressions are soon acquired, and are too fre-

quently substituted for internal and practical religion.

As the studies of the more advanced scholars gradually extend to the higher parts of mathematical science and natural philosophy, the tutor should illustrate, by means of air pumps, electrical machines, microscopes, and telescopes, the truths which he teaches. And in order that they may have some knowledge of the various occupations by which industrious men acquire a livelihood, without descending to the meanness of living upon their fellow men, the work of Dr. Ure, on the Arts and Manufactures of Britain, should be put into their hands; and they should be permitted to see some of them in actual operation. A knowledge of gardening and agriculture should be communicated by the actual cultivation of a piece of ground, and all kinds of useful work performed by all the boys: by the sons of the wealthy, as a healthful recreation, and by the sons of the poor, as a means of future maintenance. Let the inventive faculty be exercised in the solution of interesting problems and in the construction of simple instruments. A library, a laboratory, an observatory, and the instruments and apparatus for acquiring skill in music and drawing, may not in every place be within reach; but if education were conducted on a larger scale, as in the recently established Industrial School at Norwood; if every county possessed one or two central institutions; all these advantages might be obtained. The want of will is more to be feared than the want of means. Every moral machine, both in Church and State, that does not answer the required end, should be set aside, and replaced by a better. It is owing to the willingness to discard old machinery and to replace it with new, that our manufacturers have attained their great celebrity. It is greatly to be lamented that the agricultural part of the community should be so dead to the value of science, and so indifferent to the barbarous and besotted condition of the agricultural labourers.

The Creator having adapted the limbs of the human body for various uses; the eye and ear for colours and sounds; and having constructed in man's voice an instrument of music capable of producing sweetest melody, it is a part of education, not only to cultivate these powers, but to study their nature and the circumstances favourable to their perfect action. A sound mind in a sound body is one of the greatest of blessings; yet many, through ignorance, cultivate the mind at the expense of the body, and ultimately weaken and destroy both. Ignorance of the structure and functions of the human frame, has, in all probability, been the cause of the death of millions. Many a valuable life may in future be saved, if the young are made acquainted with their physical constitution. A few leading facts, judiciously communicated, would create a desire for further information. The little book, entitled "The House I live in," is somewhat of this description. The country is highly indebted to those surgeons and physicians who have delivered popular lectures on these subjects to

the members of Mechanics' Institutions. When a school is sufficiently large, or when the boys of several smaller schools can be collected together, it would be very desirable to have a few lectures from some young and rising surgeon who might feel disposed to deliver them. Much too might be learned from that interesting book, "Life, Health, and Disease, by Edward Johnson, surgeon." If read aloud, chapter by chapter, and an abstract of the contents of each chapter committed to writing, it would at once exercise the memory and furnish valuable information.

We may infer from Scripture, that the age of man is seventy years; and, as deaths from unavoidable accident are comparatively few, if there were no diseases transmitted from the parents, or brought on by the individual himself, this would probably be the average age of man. We learn, however, that, "about one-fourth of the children that are born, die within the first eleven months of life; one-third within twenty-three months; and one-half before they reach their eighth year; that two-thirds of mankind die before the thirty-ninth year; and three-fourths before the fifty-first." It is too common to ascribe all these deaths to the will of providence. Just as well may the death of the duellist and the suicide be so ascribed. Were we to seek for the causes of early deaths, we should frequently find them sufficiently obvious. When, to a feeble constitution, derived from gin-drinking parents, there are added the damp and dirty floor on which the body rolls; fumes of tobacco which the lungs breathe; noxious smells which offend the nose; rags and filth that offend the eyes; the curses of brawling parents that offend the ears: it can scarcely excite surprise that the wretched being soon quits a scene so unfavourable to life and health. It will be found equally true, in cases that are less obvious, that premature death is owing to the mismanagement of parents or tutors, or of the individual himself. through indulgence, the child is allowed too much food and warmth; or too little air and exercise; or, if, through negligence, sufficient nourishment and protection be not provided; if children are sent too soon to work, or made to work beyond their strength, their constitution must give way. The wonder is,

not that so many die, but that so many live. "Philosophy smiles," says Dr. Paley, "at the contempt with which the rich and great speak of the petty strifes and competitions of the poor; not reflecting that these strifes and competitions are just as reasonable as their own, and the pleasure, which success affords, the same." This is a correct remark. For instance, a gentleman denounces, as a barbarian, the operative who sends his little children to the factory, whilst he lies in bed himself, and lives, during the day, in idleness, upon their earnings. In reality, however, the case resembles his own. In the disposal of his children, he studies not their real good; he cares not for their usefulness in life; or for their happiness after death; but his considerations are mercenary and selfish. He selects the schools in which his sons may become acquainted with the sons of the aristocracy; he trains his daughters for showy accomplishments, in order that, by marriage, they may add honour to his name. For this he connives at the fashionable vices of the son: and the sacrificed happiness of the daughter. He cares not that his son be amongst the good and wise; he desires not that his daughter should resemble the VIRTUOUS WOMAN, described in the book of Proverbs; * or that she should rise to the dignity of female character, as portrayed in "Woman's Mission." If the son is stimulated to distinction in learning, it is for ambition; it is for a lucrative post in Church or State. The circumstances, too, under which he sends his son to a public school, are worse than those under which the selfish operative sends his boy to the factory. cruelty, and oppression, in their worst form, are at the school, and the

^{* 31}st ch. 10-31 v.

father knows it; having probably received his own education there. In the first place, in many schools, the boy must obtain his rank amongst the boys by fighting; beginning with the youngest, and fighting his way upwards, until he meets with a boy of superior strength, skill, and courage, and next to him he takes his station, until he dares to encounter him again in combat. Here we see the training of the future duellist; and perhaps of the legislator who is ever ready to embroil the nation in war. In the next place, the boy must be selected by one of the elder boys as a fag; to wait upon him, to obey his most despotic biddings, and to minister to his caprice, as the most subservient slave, with the poor consolation, that, in due time, he also will have a fag under himself, whom he may command and kick, and at whom he may swear and throw Thus sinking to the lowest servility, and then rising to a corresponding elevation of despotism. This is the nursery in which have been reared our slave owners, and those who, in parliament, and in the pulpit, defended slavery. As the state of command comes last, the remote reminiscences of the bitterness of being a fag, are buried in oblivion by the recent recollection of the sweetness of arbitrary power. In the next place, in the conventional language of the school, he learns to regard his schoolfellows and their parents as gentlemen, and to speak of tradesmen and working men as snobs; and this feeling is confirmed by the pranks which he sees played upon them; from which he naturally infers, that snobs are inferior beings, whose persons may be insulted, whose orchards may be robbed, and whose windows may be broken with impunity; hence, afterwards, the annual quarrels between the town and the gown at the University; where also the townspeople are designated by the appellation of snobs. In the last place, by sending his son to such a school, the father determines that he shall be a MAN OF LEISURE; and this inflicts upon him a greater injury than any which the operative inflicts upon his children. With youths of rank it is a common opinion that leisure is honourable, and labour mean; that it is gentlemanly to ride forty miles after the hounds, or to walk ten hours a day with a loaded gun; but that to walk, ride, or work, in order to earn his bread before he eats it, is low and vulgar. If our public schools were to teach the young to trust to their own industry and usefulness, rather than to fortune, to patronage, or to the marrying of a rich wife; or if they were to instil into their minds that it is dishonourable to go through life without rendering to society an equivalent for the benefits they are incessantly receiving from it, such lessons would be more valuable to them and to society than all that is now taught in them.

How is it that religious instructors are so blind to the faults of the rich, and so silent as to their duties? How is it that in their boasted religious education they can point out the wickedness of the profane vulgar, who work on the Sabbath, as a breach of the fourth commandment, which says, "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day: -in it thou shalt do no manner of work;" and yet so strangely overlook that part of the same commandment, which says, "Six days shalt thou labour." The man that condemns another for working on the Sabbath, does in effect pronounce a sixfold condemnation upon himself, if he works not all the rest of the week. If he would act impartially, when, at the instance of a SABBATH OBSERVANCE SOCIETY, the policeman takes into custody the humble mechanic, who works on the seventh day, he should, by means of a SIX DAYS OBSERVANCE SOCIETY, direct the same policeman to take before the magistrates every gentleman who is found not working, or otherwise usefully employed. The sin of the Sabbath-breaker occurs once in the week; the sin of the useless lounger, the man of morning calls, and of fashionable promenades, is perpetual. He sins every day of the week, and every hour of the day. If the heads of grammar schools taught this, the sons of the rich would soon be taken from them. If the clergy taught, that the

words, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread," apply equally to all men; -that the declaration, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat," includes all men; -that, no tree must be barren; no talent hid in a napkin; but that, according to his ability, every man should find work for his hand to do, and do it with his might; then would rich men become good men; or, if they were offended with the doctrine, and became dissenters or infidels, the Church of England would indeed become the "Poor Man's Church;" and honest industry would welcome such faithful preaching. But are these the sentiments of the church? Hear the testimony of Bishop Hall:-" Sweet is the destiny of all trades, whether of the brows or of the mind. allowed any man to do nothing. How miserable is the condition of those men, which spend the time as if it were given them, and not lent; as if hours were waste creatures, and such as never should be accounted for; as if God would take this for a good bill of reckoning: Item, spent upon my pleasures forty years! These men shall once find, that no blood can privilege idleness, and that nothing is more precious to God than that which they desire to cast away

If England should ever decline and fall, the cause will be read in the hand writing on the walls of her luxurious halls and of her gin palaces. Pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall; the pride of titled wealth; and a haughty spirit of vulgar intemperance. England's danger is not from Popery or Dissent; not from Chartism or Socialism. It is from THE IDLE RICH and THE IDLE POOR; from those who, living on the public revenue, or on parish pay, impoverish the tax payer and the rate payer; and from those who, by the enormous income* transmitted to them by that law of primogeniture, which leaves the younger branches of the family to be provided for by military, naval, or ecclesiastical sinecures, consume the food of the industrious. If one half of the people be idle, the other half must work either twice as long or twice as hard. Either of these cases would be highly detrimental to the working classes; as it would leave them either no time or no energy to improve and enjoy themselves. It is the utter recklessness and despair consequent upon this unnatural and unrighteous condition of society that shakes the stability of the empire. When those who live upon the taxes and poor rates, bear too great a proportion to the tax payers and rate payers, it will become first difficult, and then impossible, to collect such taxes and rates; and when these shall cease to be paid, the empire must fall. Such fall, however, may be prevented; and with the present signs of the times in favour of a better education of the people, we may reasonably hope that it will be prevented. Let the idle classes be taught the sin of idleness; let their children be brought up in the noble principles of self support; let right ideas of life and of the useful employment of time be instilled into the minds of the young; let a national education, worthy of this great people, pervade the land, and England's prosperity shall increase, and her greatness be permanent.

Let not the faults of education be used as an excuse for not sending children to school. The boy who runs wild, learns as fast as the boy who is sen to school, but he learns nothing but mischief. His tutors are, the idlers in sheat, the groom in the stable, or the drinkers and smokers in the taption. Lill the sack with such wheat as can be had, rather than let others fill it with claff. Nor let the faults of schools be considered as a sufficient argument in favour of home education. Home education can never be generally adopted; and is feasible only when parents are possessed of correct principles and considerable incomes. The wisest course is to encourage the most useful schools, and to reform the useless. Reformation should begin with the worst of all—the

^{*} In some cases equal to £1,000 a day.

endowed Grammar School. The respectable Commercial School, though far superior to that which is merely classical, is, nevertheless, very imperfect, and needs reformation. "Train up a child IN THE WAY HE SHOULD GO, and when he is old he will not depart form it," is the CHARTER OF EDUCATION. It is the physical, moral, intellectual, and industrial education alone that will fit men to live as they ought to live. This was the system adopted by De Fellenberg, at Hofwyl, in Switzerland; and this system, when fully developed and adapted to all classes, is the only system that will stand the test of scripture and common sense. A system like that of De Fellenberg's will form the world's true nobility, a race of vigorous, industrious, enlightened, and disinterested men. Every schoolmaster should make himself acquainted with the proceedings of that school, and at once adopt them as far as possible. Instead of requiring the boys to sit eighthours a-day in the poisoned atmosphere of a common schoolroom, with a dull round of stupid lessons, let him aim at the general improvement of their mind and body. Let him cultivate the affections and principles. Let him form in his own mind an image of a perfect human being; and after this model let him mould his pupils. Nor let him confine them, when the hours of study are over, to the narrow precincts of a play ground; or to a melancholy procession, two and two, as though mourning for lost liberty; but let him allow full scope to the joyous heart and the bounding limb. With bold exploits and lively sports in the open field, let the lungs drink in the pure air, and the heart propel the pure blood, until health is visible in their ruddy faces. their sprightly movements, and their cheerful merriment.

Let him abolish the present mode of conducting the periodical examinations. which tries only the memory. The man who would discover the merits of a horse, puts him into all his paces; he tries how he can walk, trot, canter, gallop, and leap. In like manner should the examiner of youth try their proficiency in reading, speaking, construing, reciting, and disputing :- in translating, composing, correcting, abridging, and in taking notes: -- in writing and arithmetic, in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and mechanics. He should call upon them to give an opinion upon cases of conscience; upon the right motives of human conduct; and upon the way to behave in the midst of opposition, reproach, and persecution; to describe selfishness and disinterestedness; and to give suitable examples of generous and patriotic conduct. He should ask them to explain the principles of that leviathan of machines, * the steam engine, and of all other kinds of machinery that may have been exhibited or described to them. He should give them an opportunity of performing experiments in mechanics, such as taking to pieces a watch or a clock, and putting them together again; and he should ascertain their knowledge of the common principles of optics, by permitting them, with given materials, to construct a telescope. In the same manner should he draw forth their skill in chemistry, and their acquirements in all the sciences. Let him try the strength and activity of the body, by calling upon them to run, to jump, to leap, to swim, to dive, or to skate, as circumstances may permit; and let the results of the examination be recorded. When young persons are thus trained for their future work, they will go forth into the world, prepared to earn an honest livelihood, to assist in every noble enterprise, and to exert a salutary influence up or the contract to bourhood in which they live; upon the whole kingdom; and period whole world.

If such were the education of the men of England, how soon woul our national evils be removed! A few thousand citizens with brave hearts, and clear heads, and pure motives, would obtain the reform of every abuse, without public convulsions, and without the plunder of property, or the shedding of one drop

^{*} That performs the work of 150,000,000 men.

of blood. Only let our schools and colleges become seminaries of sound learning and religious education, and there never shall again be wanting a supply of fit and able men duly qualified to serve God both in Church and State.

We require a locomotive machinery that will travel from place to place, as the first Christian teachers did. A small village cannot possibly support a respectable schoolmaster, but it might contribute a fourth part of the salary of one; and if four parishes joined, or if the master took up his residence in each parish in turn for three months in the year, there might be much good done. In many places children cannot attend by day, for them a school must be opened in the evening. Children of tender years are sent to work during the day; and if they are not hard worked, it is better for them that they should be early accustomed to the yoke; they acquire habits of industry, which are not easily acquired by those who, until the age of fourteen have never done any work. If the work during the day is easy, the evening school. being a rest from bodily labour, would be more favourable to their growth than running about the streets,*

There is a growing conviction that something must be done to remove the ignorance of the people; as, in proportion to the deficiency in their mental culture is the danger from their physical force. Amongst other things, it is proposed to grant out of the taxes a large sum for National Education. Nothing is done in England without taxing the people. If slavery is to be abolished in the West Indies, a too easy government consents to give twenty millions sterling to the owners of the slaves; thus inflicting as much slavery upon our own citizens, although extended over a larger number of persons, as has been removed from the negroes of the Colonies. Whoever works by compulsion without wages is a slave; and every operative has now to work for the West India planters, in consequence of the addition of twenty millions to the national debt. The compulsion to the slave was by means of the cart whip of the driver; to the working man of England, if he do not increase his work to meet the increase of taxation, the compulsion consists in the dread of a debtor's prison, the workhouse, or starvation; and there is not less of real slavery in the world than there was before. The sum of twenty millions paid by a nation that contained twenty millions of inhabitants, was a charge of one pound for every man, woman, and child in the empire; it was a charge, for instance, upon the city of Bath of more than fifty thousand pounds, or a perpetual tax upon the inhabitants of Bath of two thousand pounds a year. † In the endeavours that were made by the Anti-Slavery Society to obtain the abolition of slavery, it was very difficult for the Bath Auxiliary to raise twenty-five pounds a year for this purpose, and yet such is the prevailing ignorance of the effect of indirect taxation, that the same city now pays without a murmur two thousand pounds a year, as its share of the annual interest of the twenty millions. Whatever may be the proportion of two thousand pounds a year to the yearly revenue of the people of Bath, to that extent has slavery fallen upon them; and by the fraction which represents

requiring seven such towns as Bath, in order to raise by taxation a sum sufficient to pay the

interest of that part of the national debt caused by this shameful transaction.

The employment of children in keeping sheep or driving away birds, is not unfavourable to health, when they have a considerate master. The late Mr. Cobbett was so employed at six years of age. But when, as is too common, farmers have no consideration, and a little fellow is kept from 6 in the morning till 8 or 9 in the evening, for one shilling a week, or half a farthing an hour, it is an act of oppression. This long service not only explains the stunted growth of the labouring class in these parts; but it accounts for the difficulty of supporting an evening school. The boy on the farm who is exposed for 15 or 16 hours to the hot sun, the pelting rain, or the piercing wind, and worse than all to the oaths and kicks of an unfeeling master, all for one or two shillings a week, would at a manufactory in Manchester, obtain from three to five shillings per week, and kind treatment. This is asserted from personal observation of both.

1 t is said that one slave owner, a wealthy Bristol merchant, received, as his share of the twenty millions, no less a sum than £400,000, which is equivalent to £14,000 a-year; thus

that proportion, has the slavery of every individual been increased by that Parliamentary grant. It is too commonly supposed that those who pay taxes in money are the persons who bear these burthens; but the assessed taxes form a very small part of the taxation of the country. All who eat, drink, and consume the necessaries of life, pay the taxes; and these are the mass of the people, —our tradesmen, mechanics, and operatives. From a deficiency in education, men do not consider that every tax, not absolutely necessary for the support of government, inflicts just so much slavery upon the people. A merciful government would be very unwilling to tax the people for education, if they could find any other way of raising the money. In America they have the proceeds of the sale of lands; in England they might have the proceeds of all the scholastic endowments. The country would be better without its endowed public schools. Servility and tyranny are perpetuated there. The nation may justly claim all these endowments, as they have been perverted from their original purpose. They were intended for the children of the poor, and they have been appropriated to the sons of the rich.

The scholarships and fellowships of our Universities too were chiefly intended for the poor. In many instances the candidate is compelled to swear that he is not worth six pounds, or in some cases ten or fifteen pounds, a year;* and to this day the name of each candidate for a fellowship, in some colleges, is pronounced in the hearing of the members of the college, as "A. B. pauper, pius, et doctus;" that is, A. B. poor, pious, and learned. This intention is in many cases most strictly fulfilled; and probably there is no place in the world in which honours and emoluments are more adjudged according to the examination passed, than in the Universities of England. National Education has not, however, received from the Universities of our land the aid that Their fame has been too much confined to splendid ought to be expected. instances of classical and mathematical attainments. Students possessed of superior talent and energy have made great proficiency in learning; but these form a small minority amongst men. Such as possess but little talent and energy acquire scarcely any thing that is worth the carrying away; and these form the majority; or in the language of the University itself, the οι πολλοι, the MANY, the mass of undergraduates. It would be a noble work if our colleges were to devote their attention to the MANY, and educate them for the important offices for which they are destined. They now leave the University without honour; but they subsequently obtain, by family influence, posts of high honour; they fill our pulpits; our courts of law; our benches of magistrates; and our Houses of Parliament; and their frequent display of pride and intolerance, sufficiently shows that they are still ignorant of sound principles and generous sentiments.

But can the present generation alter the course of studies and the appropriation of funds in public seminaries? Certainly. The changes which have already been made, are sufficient to show that public opinion will not always permit the men of past ages to legislate for posterity. If a man establish an institution upon foolish principles, he has, so long as he lives, the means of enlarging his ideas, and of removing objectionable parts; but having no such power after his death, each succeeding age ought to do that which the founder would have done had he still lived, as it is obvious that no man ought to have the power to compel succeeding generations to continue the use of his peculiar plans any longer than they find them beneficial. Should the enlightened men of the present day think that the studies of our Universities partake too much of the learning of past ages and of the technicalities of science, and not sufficiently of practical wisdom for the guidance of individuals and the

^{*} This is explained by the College to signify only landed property.

government of nations, they are perfectly competent to demand an alteration; and they will be without excuse if they permit a system of obsolete learning to If Parliament were to enact such an appropriation of the vast be continued. funds of the Colleges, as might be most extensively beneficial, there is not one amongst the founders and benefactors who would rise up in judgment and condemn them. There are Colleges for divinity, law, and medicine; let there be Colleges for agriculture, for mechanical arts, commerce, and navigation. There are Colleges whose object is to prepare ministers to teach religion to men; let there be Colleges for preparing schoolmasters to teach learning to youth. Is there no science of government? Are there no qualifications necessary for a legislator? Ought the youthful peer to be permitted to vote on matters of peace and war, liberty and slavery, free trade, monopoly, and taxation, without some certificate of qualification-some degree in a College of Modern History and Political Economy? The forty-two Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, with their immense revenues, have ample means of providing for every class of society an education suitable to them. Whilst there are such vast scholastic foundations it is most unreasonable to tax the people for this purpose. In all probability more harm than good has arisen to society from bequests to trustees and bodies corporate, for charitable purposes; let these bequests be devoted to the best interests of the country over whose property those who bequeathed them have too long usurped an unwarrantable authority. The Duke of Wellington has properly said, that the Church should help itself before it asks for the money of the people; he might justly apply a similar remark to our present apparatus for education.

Let the government encourage learning by attaching privileges to it, and by making it more useful to those who acquire it. That grand measure, the uniform Penny Postage of Rowland Hill, has this tendency. 'Those who formerly learned to write found their writing of little use, because they could not afford to pay the postage of letters; but when they find that writing is useful to them, the practice of it will become general, and will tend to the improvement of the people. On a similar principle, let the legislature REPEAL THE STAMP DUTY ON NEWSPAPERS. This duty is only one penny, but it adds twopence or threepence to the price, in consequence of the diminished circula-With all their imperfections, newspapers are the civilizers and instructors of our land, and he is no friend to the people who tries to keep newspapers from them. The stamp duty has this effect. The masses of the people seldom purchase any thing that is charged more than one penny or twopence, and consequently the high price of newspapers throws them upon publications of a cheaper sort; some of which, it is true, are very respectable; but others are low and unprincipled; and from all of them, the news of the day, the history of our own country, in our own times, is kept out by legal

penalty.

Another stimulus to the progress of National Education, which the legislature alone can give, is, the educational qualification for the franchise. The present system of registration is most vexatious. The revising barrister and his court treat the people as enemies; and by their perpetual annoyance, the franchise has become a nuisance to those who are entitled to it. Let Parliament appoint a competent tribunal, to act upon more generous principles; not against, but for, the people; giving them the benefit of any doubt, and allowing all reasonable exceptions; and let every man be registered who can read a newspaper well enough to ascertain for himself what his representative in Parliament is doing; and who can write out his own application for a vote. Let the London and provincial papers be brought within the reach of the mass of the people, and let them feel, by frequent elections, and by a vote protected by the Ballot, that they have a voice in the affairs of the

country, and they will make great sacrifices in order to gain knowledge for themselves and for their children. The Legislature might easily do justice to the people, and form a proper constituency, if they would in all sincerity make the attempt. When they want the people's money, they readily discover their abode and their right to be taxed; honesty would as readily find out the man who has a right to a voice in the election of those who impose the taxes.

When by these inducements the people begin to desire knowledge, it will be necessary to provide instructors fit to communicate it. WITH THE ABUSED FUNDS OF PUBLIC ENDOWMENTS LET THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDE FIRST-RATE MODEL SCHOOLS FOR THE TRAINING OF MASTERS; let them select a superior class of men for the office of master, and allot to the office a liberal salary; not fixed for life, but removable at pleasure. Let them also select a still higher order of men, with still higher salary, for inspecting the schools and for delivering lectures on education throughout the kingdom. For a future supply of masters and inspectors, let the most promising boys in the various schools be set apart and trained, at the expense of such funds, for the especial purpose of succeeding, first to the office of master, and then, if during many years he has displayed great fidelity, judgment, and ability, to that of inspector. By these arrangements, without additional taxation, the people would have both inducement and opportunity to gain knowledge. Their minds would become more refined, and their pursuits more elevated. They would possess

more extensive resources for personal and domestic enjoyment.

If the wealthy classes would live in peace, without fear of national convulsion, let them open more ways of prosperity, and give more means of enjoyment. Let them imitate the enlarged philanthropy of Joseph Strutt, esq., in the munificent gift recently made to the inhabitants of Derby, of the Arboretum; a free gift for ever of most beautiful walks and pleasure grounds, estimated at ten thousand pounds. It is this wholesome change from honest work to elegant and innocent recreation; from honourable employment to healthful exercise and animated assemblages of the people, that will make a people wise and prosperous. man who has but few ideas and no means of rational enjoyment, does not know how to pass his leisure time. He meets with the idler, and is led into mischief; he loiters at the thievish corners of the streets, and casts in his lot with the drunkard, the beggar, and the robber. Train him when young by an industrial education, to more ways of earning a livelihood; give him more sources of enjoyment by cultivating his mind, and he will in all probability become a valuable member of society. If the institutions of society were of a liberal kind, the work of education would continually go on, even after the age of maturity. If the making and administering of the laws were conducted upon enlightened policy and strict justice, the people would obtain more correct ideas of right and wrong. If taxes were placed upon the property of the wealthy, and not upon the food of the industrious, working men would be satisfied. long as men calling themselves Honourable Members of Parliament, act dishonourably; so long as the representatives of the people represent only themselves and seek their own interest, so long will the people desire delegates of their own. So long as the contending parties in the state describe each other as vile and unfit for office, the people, witnessing the conflict, will entertain that contempt for each party which each has for the other. Let the Parliament act justly in the repeal of laws which diminish the people's food and which stop their trade; let all compulsory religion and compulsory charity cease; let there be an end of that patronising condescension which treats the poor as beings of an inferior Instead of spurious charity which corrupts, let the rich help the poor by teaching them how to help themselves, and then shall they find out that the working men of England are no longer to be feared; that their talents, their wonderful ingenuity and skill which command the markets of the world, deserve

the admiration of their own land; and that, with equitable laws would return

mutual confidence between the governors and the governed.

Does the education here proposed accord with the Divine will? Many who worship an unknown God will unhesitatingly answer in the negative: but, if we study those two volumes, the works of Creation, and the word of Revelation; if we examine those two masterpieces of divine skill, the human body and the human soul; if we discover that the perfection of each is necessary to the perfection of the compound being, man; and that the vigour of the mind depends almost entirely upon the health of the body, it will appear that the careful endeavour to train both the body and the mind, to their highest degree of strength and usefulness, must be strictly in accordance with the will of the Being who made them. Nature and revelation, too, declare that the constant purpose of the Divine Being is man's happiness. Moral philosophy teaches us that man's happiness does not consist in the pleasures of sense-in exemption from labour-or in greatness of rank; but that human happiness consists in THE EXERCISE OF THE SOCIAL AFFECTIONS; -USEFUL EMPLOYMENT; -THE PRUDENT CONSTITUTION OF THE HABITS; -and HEALTH. These, therefore, ought to be the grand objects of education; these are the objects chiefly recommended in the preceding pages; consequently, the system of education here set forth, must be according to the will of God.

Each of the following Pamphlets of the Rev. T. Spencer, weighs, with an envelope, less than half an ounce.

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CLERICAL CONFORMITY

AND

CHURCH PROPERTY,

CONTAINING, WITH ALTERATIONS, THE SUBSTANCE OF A PAMPHLET PUB-LISHED BY THE AUTHOR IN THE YEAR 1830, ENTITLED, "THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; OR SAFE, LIBERAL, AND CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES OF REFORM IN THE ESTABLISHMENT: BY A CLERGYMAN."

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF HINTON CHARTERHOUSE, NEAR BATH, AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

TWELFTH THOUSAND.

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CLERICAL CONFORMITY AND CHURCH PROPERTY.

When men discover great abuses in public institutions, what course do

they usually adopt?

Sometimes they reform the abuses; sometimes they preserve them, lest still greater evils arise from the attempt to remove them; and sometimes they destroy the institutions themselves.

Does the Church of England allow the possibility of abuse within herself? Yes. The Church does not lay claim to infallibility, but in the begin-

ning of the Prayer Book, "Concerning the service of the Church," she says, "There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which in continuance of time, hath not been corrupted; as, among other things, it may plainly appear by the Common Prayers in the Church, commonly called Divine Service."

What does the Church recommend for the correction of this evil tendency?

A perpetual self-adjustment: thus, in the preface to the Prayer Book, she says, "It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the compiling of her public liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting, any variation from it. For, as on the one side, common experience sheweth, that where a change hath been made of things advisedly established, no evident necessity so requiring, sundry inconveniences have thereupon ensued; and those many times more and greater than the evils, that were intended to be remedied by such change; so on the other side, THE PARTICULAR FORMS OF DIVINE WORSHIP, AND THE RITES AND CEREMONIES APPOINTED TO BE USED THEREIN, BEING THINGS IN THEIR OWN NATURE INDIF-FERENT AND ALTERABLE, AND SO ACKNOWLEDGED, IT IS BUT REASONABLE THAT, UPON WEIGHTY AND IMPORTANT CONSIDERA-TIONS, ACCORDING TO THE VARIOUS EXIGENCY OF TIMES AND OCCASIONS, SUCH CHANGES AND ALTERATIONS SHOULD BE MADE THEREIN, AS TO THOSE THAT ARE IN PLACE OF AUTHORITY SHOULD FROM TIME TO TIME SEEM EITHER NECESSARY OR

If, by the apathy of "those that are in place of authority," several hundred years elapse without those "changes and alterations which are necessary or expedient," ought the clergy blindly to follow these ancient

services, or to seek their reform?

Those who desire to keep undisturbed possession of ecclesiastical wealth, and those who desire the entire destruction of the Church, wish every thing to go on as at present; but the true friends to the establishment desire its adaptation to the wants of the present time; and, throwing aside all superstitious regard to ancient forms, seek a greater conformity to the simplicity of the scriptural pattern, and greater efficiency in promoting universal charity among men.

Is there amongst the clergy a perfect conformity with the Rubric?

No. True conformity consists in obeying the spirit of an institution, rather than in complying with the letter. Perhaps there is no subject of any law, divine or human, who entirely obeys that law; and no member of any religious denomination whose sentiments and conduct are in exact accordance with the founders of the sect; and most assuredly, there is no clergyman, from the highest archbishop to the humblest curate, who obeys to the letter, the rules of the Church.

Can this disobedience be justified after the promise of conformity?

There are cases in which promises are not binding; as, according to Dr. Paley—when the performance of them is impossible: when the performance is unlawful: and when they contradict a former promise. There are cases of all these in the performance of clerical duties, in which it becomes a duty to break the letter in order to fulfil the spirit of the promise.

Can you give instances of justifiable nonconformity to the rules of the

Church ?

In performing the ceremony of marriage, the rubric enjoins that the ring shall be placed on the fourth finger of the left hand; sometimes that finger is wanting, and even the left hand itself. In the "admonition to all ministers ecclesiastical" contained in the Book of Homilies the clergy are told, to choose such of the homilies as are most meet for the instruction of the people:—these homilies are now seldom used, because ministers are expected to preach their own sermons. They are also told that "where it may so chance some one or other chapter of the Old Testament to fall in order to be read upon the Sundays or holidays, which were better to be changed with some other of the New Testament of more edification, it shall be well done to spend your time to consider well of such chapters beforehand, whereby your prudence and diligence in your office may appear:"—which direction is contradicted by the Λ ct of Uniformity subsequently passed. It is appointed in the Prayer Book that "Priests and deacons are to say DAILY the morning and evening prayer either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause. And the curate that ministereth in every parish church or chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the parish church or chapel where he ministereth, and shall cause a bell to be tolled thereunto, a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's word and to pray with him". As the people did not support the custom by their daily attendance, it has fallen into disuse, except in cathedrals and college chapels. It is further enjoined, that "The curate of every parish shall diligently upon Sundays and holidays, after the second lesson at evening prayer, openly in the church instruct and examine so many children of his parish sent unto him, as he shall think convenient, in some part of the Catechism".-This, not according with the spirit of the age, is generally neglected. The whole of the marriage service is appointed to be used, whereas, from a sense of propriety, it is usual with the clergy to leave off at the benediction in the middle of the service. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the chief minister of the Church, in the recent royal marriage, when officiating before the Queen, the Head of the Church, omitted a considerable portion of the marriage service.

How may this disagreement between the letter and the spirit of the promise

of conformity be removed?

The articles and liturgy should be revised. A few simple articles, in general terms, substituted for the numerous and complicated documents to which the clergy have now to sign their name. Greater freedom ought to be infused into the services of the Church, and greater latitude and discretion given to the clergy. By the laying on of the hands of the Bishop, they are said to receive the Holy Ghost; to have an unction from that Holy One, whereby they know all things; and are called the successors of the Apostles; and yet in the most minute particulars they are tied down, as though they were unfit to handle sacred things. The morning service should be shortened, or rather it should be divided into its original three parts, and each part should form a distinct morning service for three successive Sundays, thus preventing that repetition of the Lord's prayer and of other prayers, which is very objectionable. Instead of the first lessons, which give the congregation the same chapters every year, and which keep them from the rest of the Old Testament, the choice might remain with the minister. The Baptismal service should be rendered simple; and the godfathers and godmothers dispensed with. The Burial service should be divested of those expressions which appear to decide the state of the departed. The Absolution dismissed from the Visitation of the Sick, and a service arranged which would lead the minister to know that his chief and hopeful work was with men in health, to teach them how to live; rather than with the sick, whose compulsory religion generally leaves them as soon as their sickness is over. There should be excluded from the Prayer Book the Athanasian Creed;—the service for the 5th of November;—for King Charles the Martyr; -for the Restoration of the Royal Family; -and the Commination service. The Canons should be abolished; and the laws of the Church, made instead thereof, should be simple in their nature and generous in their spirit. Suspicious tests and tyrannical subscriptions have failed in their object, and have multiplied dissenters until they are equal in number to the frequenters of our churches. An easier yoke, a lighter burthen, and a service which is perfect freedom, will encourage amongst Christians a disposition to agree, rather than a desire to differ. The Order of Confirmation should be done away. The Church Catechism revised, and all reference to godfathers and godmothers omitted. The Ordination Service should be deprived of those expressions which ascribe undue weight to the laying on of the Bishop's hands; and the words "Receive the Holy Ghost-whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained," which are addressed by the Bishop to every person admitted into Priest's orders, should be expunged. The more carefully the Bishops examine the qualifications of every candidate for the ministry, in order that they may "lay hands suddenly on no man;"-the more diligently they see that "the deacons be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre;"—the more useful they will be to the Church; but the longer they continue the practice of telling every minister whom they ordain, that he has the power to forgive or to retain any man's sins, the more will they injure the Church. It is a relic of darker ages; is not warranted by Scripture; and partakes of the nature of blasphemy. The

ceremony of Consecration of Churches and Burial Grounds ought also to be dispensed with, as of like superstitious origin, and tending to create erroneous impressions in the minds of the ignorant.

If a candidate for the ministry discovers in the articles or liturgy any

thing contrary to scripture ought he to subscribe?

Certainly not; he is required to subscribe them willingly and ex-animo. If a clergyman, having subscribed, subsequently discovers discrepancies

between the Prayer Book and the Scripture, what ought he to do?

To endeavour, by all suitable means, to remove them. If the clergy were to seek the removal of abuses in the church, these abuses would soon be removed; and if they do not, they are the parties on whom the guilt rests; since after admission into orders they become constituent parts of the church; and, according to law, are ministers for life; without power to enter any secular profession, or to be elected Members of Parliament. The Archbishop of Canterbury has indeed recently declared in the House of Lords, that in such cases, the clergy ought to bring themselves to the formularies of the church, and not to strive to alter those formularies to meet their views; but this declaration is unjust; and contrary to the declaration of the church itself, that upon weighty and important considerations, when, for instance, the consciences of the clergy are aggrieved, changes and alterations ought to be made. Archbishop would have the clergy continue to declare that "The Book of Common Prayer containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God," when, to take only one instance, he ought to know that the 28th verse of the 105th Psalm, as it stands in the Prayer Book, is a flat contradiction of the Bible version of the same passage; * and consequently, if the clergy were to follow the Archbishop's advice, they would maintain error. The requirements of the church are of a more liberal and generous description; and the injunctions of the Ordination Service to every clergyman to increase in knowledge and to oppose error, as soon as he has detected it, are very different from the stationary condition required by the Arch-The questions put to the candidate for orders are,—"Will you make scripture your study?—will you teach nothing but that which you shall be persuaded may be proved from scripture?—and will you banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines which are contrary to God's word?" To which the answer is, "I will." He, therefore, that, by study of scripture, obtains more enlarged views, and who, according to these views, strives to banish error and to remove abuse, acts according to his promise; but he who either does not study the scripture, or who does not strive to banish error when he detects it, breaks his promisc.

Until the alterations have been made, which time and circumstances require, in what sense is a subscription to the Articles and Liturgy to be understood?

If there arise a doubt as to the interpretation of any part of the service, according to reason and sound doctrine, recourse must be had to the sixth Article, which says, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may

^{* 105} Psalm, 28 v. Prayer Book.
"He sent darkness, and it was dark: and they were not obedient unto his word."
105 Psalm, 28 v. Bible.
"He sent darkness, and made it dark; and they rebelled not against his word."

be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

Granting it to be right for clergymen to strive to remove ecclesiastical abuses, yet would not the more effectual way be to leave the Church and to unite with some denomination of Dissenters?

No. All remonstrance would then be disregarded, as coming from a supposed enemy; whilst faithful are the wounds of a friend; besides, it can scarcely be right for those ministers of the Reformed Protestant Church, who preach the same doctrines and pursue the same objects as the Protestant Reformers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to hand the Church over to those clergymen whose doctrines and pursuits are entirely opposite.

What clergy are these?

First.—The Pusevite clergy, who hold Roman Catholic doctrines with Protestant incomes. These are endeavouring to bring back into the Church outward forms and observances which impress the senses; such as crosses, images, pictures, flowers, candles, and bowings to the communion table. They also adopt fastings and observe saints' days -they claim Apostolic descent; and ascribe to the sacrament, and to the functions of their office, a virtue very flattering to their own conceit, but entirely at variance with the principles of the Reformation and with that worship which is "in spirit and in truth." Secondly.-The foxhunting, ball-going, and race-frequenting clergy, who hold no doctrines at all, but who receive the incomes of the Church. The respectable inhabitants of Canterbury have recently endeavoured to put down the races, because of the grievous evils which attend them, but their efforts have been frustrated by the clergy. The Kent Herald gives the following account:-" Canterbury Races.-On Thursday these races commenced on Barham Down: we cannot say there were many of the nobility and gentry present. Some difficulty has been experienced in getting up these races this year, owing, in a great measure, to the little support lately afforded by sporting gentlemen. The grand stand was very meagrely attended. We noticed the VERY REVEREND THE DEAN, THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON CROFT, and R. Rice, esq., M.P., Lord A. Conyngham, M.P., the Rev. C. H. Hallett, the Rev. J. Hallett, the Rev. R. O. Tylden, &c."-On which the Record observes:-" It is a grievous spectacle this indeed to be presented by the Apostolic Church of England, and reflects upon her high dishonour. Neither Roman Catholic priest nor Dissenting minister would so degrade themselves." Such conduct in the clergy is clearly incompatible with their engagement at their ordination, "to lay aside the study of the world and the flesh, to give themselves wholly to the work of the ministry, and to be in all things wholesome examples for the people to follow." These are the successors, not of the apostles, but of those hirelings whom Archdeacon Paley warned, in his sermon to the clergy of Carlisle, against "a mimicry of the fashions, language, and diversions, or even the follies and vices, of higher life; a hunting after the acquaintance of the great, a cold and distant behaviour to their former equals, and a contemptuous neglect of their society:" of which acts he says, "if they disgust those with whom you are to live, and upon whom the good you do must be done,

they defeat the very design and use of your vocation." These are the men whom he warns against "drunken feasts, boisterous sports, and barbarous diversions;" and to whom he says, "let your amusements, like everything about you, be STILL, and QUIET, and UNOFFENDING."

What course then would you recommend reflecting Christians to adopt?

That, unless there be insurmountable scruples of conscience, every Christian continue for the present in that Church, or Dissenting community, to which he now belongs; applying to his own circumstances, whether formed by education, habit, or by those enactments of law which prevent the clergy from entering into any other profession, the same rule which the Apostle applied to converts of Jewish and heathen origin:-" Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing: but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called."-1 Corinth., vii. 18. And since there are acknowledged evils in every Dissenting community as well as in the Church; evils which have been well set forth in that valuable weekly paper, The Christian Reformer, let each strive to set his own house in order. Let the Episcopalian strive to improve the system of Episcopacy; the Independent and the Baptist, their respective systems; let the Wesleyans, the Society of Friends, and the Plymouth Brethren, remedy every defect which they may discern amongst themselves; so shall the Christian world be better able to judge of the merits of the voluntary and compulsory principle, and of the various forms of worship and discipline. Thus shall men, who never can be driven to unity, be drawn to it by observing the order and brotherly love of each denomination. Then shall the world, three-fourths of which are still heathen, behold a Christian army, composed of various regiments, each with its peculiar uniform, all serving under one commander-in-chief, and marching against the common enemy—infidelity.

Does this union of spirit and of purpose agree with the precepts of Scrip-

ture?

The prayer of Christ for his disciples is, "That they all may be one." The test of discipleship which he gives is, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."-John xiii. 35. To those who turned their arms against each other, instead of against the common foe, the Apostle Paul says, "All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." —Gal. v. 14. He tells them to endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; so that as there is but one God and one faith, they may be all of one mind; walking by the same rule, minding the same thing. He shows that the diversities of gifts and of offices were all intended to promote this end:—that "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. That we henceforth be

no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ."—Ephes. iv. 11.

What inference may be drawn from the example of Christ and his Apostles

as to continuing in a Church in which are great abuses?

Jesus Christ remained to the last in the Church against whose evils he so strongly protested. His attack upon the corruptions of the Jewish system was made from within and not from without. He spoke not against the Scribes and Pharisees to others, but to their face he called them hypocrites, blind guides, and a generation of vipers. To each individual he pointed out his respective faults, and commended to each the merits of others. To the Jew he held up the example of the good Samaritan: to the woman of Samaria he held up the religion of the Jews: "Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews."-John iv. 22. Against the superstitions of the Temple he protested in the Temple itself; and to counteract the erroneous doctrines taught in the synagogues, he proclaimed the truth in the synagogues in which those errors were taught. When the love of filthy lucre had taken the place of the love of God, and religious rites were made mere instruments of worldly gain, he entered the very Temple in which these practices were carried on, and having made a scourge of small cords, he "cast out all them that sold and bought in the Temple, and overthrew the tables of the money changers, and the seats of them that sold doves; and said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves."-Matt. xxi. 12. In like manner the Apostles continued their attendance at the Temple and in the synagogue, not to sanction evil, but to reprove the evil doers. If any of them were cast out of the synagogue, the persecution which they underwent did not impede the progress of truth. So with regard to the two thousand non-conformist clergy, who were ejected by a tyrannical act of the legislature, their ejection did not prevent the progress of civil and religious liberty. In fact, it is chiefly owing to them and to their successors, that the science of Church government is better understood than at any former period.

In attempting the work of Church Reform what abuses would you first

remove?

Those which are connected with ecclesiastical revenue, as being the root of all others. It is these abuses which now make the Church a house of merchandise, and which still turn the house of prayer into a den of thieves.

Is the property of the Church sufficient for the support of its ministers?

More than sufficient:—being, from land, tithes, and Queen Ann's bounty, about six millions sterling annually.

Are, then, the clergy well paid for their labours?

They are most unequally paid. Whilst some, who do little or nothing, are receiving from five hundred pounds to several thousands a-year, those who perform the greater part of the services of the church seldom receive more than 100l. a-year, some 60l., and many only 40l. a-year.

Is this the use originally intended to be made of Church property?

Certainly not: it was intended, amongst other things, to support those

who minister; and, by furnishing them with a decent competence, to render them free from all anxious cares respecting temporal things.

In what way has this evil been brought about?

The dignitaries of the Church have in their own possession many benefices, besides having it in their power to give to their sons and relatives many more; and the value of these to the incumbents is estimated by the clear sum to be received after the salary of a curate is deducted, and consequently the larger the incomes of the benefices, and the smaller the stipends of the curates, the greater is the income of these wealthy incumbents.

But how does this affect the lay patrons?

The lay patrons are similarly circumstanced; the value of the livings in their gift depending upon the quantity of income, and the smallness of the service to be performed, or the smallness of the curate's stipend.

Is it on this account that many incumbents and patrons, in country parishes, refuse to allow more than one sermon to be preached every Sunday?

Precisely so. They say that any increase of duty will diminish the value of the living; and the price a purchaser would give them will depend chiefly upon the easy duty.

How many pieces of preferment may one clergyman hold?

I have heard of one clergyman having six or eight; I know instances of the same individual having four or five.

But can it be possible that Bishops should increase this evil by being

parties to it?

Not only do Bishops themselves participate in the evil, by acting, at the same time, the part of masters of colleges, deans of cathedrals, and incumbents of livings: but it almost invariably happens, that the preferment which a bishop has in his gift, is conferred upon his own family.

In what other way is Church property held?

By canons, prebends, archdeacons, chancellors, deans, minor canons, and vicars choral.

Are these offices useful or of scriptural origin?

The greater part of them of no use, and their names are not even mentioned in scripture.

Are they then sinecures given to aged and valuable ministers of the Church? On the contrary, they are generally given to the younger sons of the nobility, or to relatives of the bishops, who thus receive their one or two thousand a-year for doing nothing.

What then do you propose as a remedy?

To appoint Church Reform Commissioners to receive Church property, and appropriate it differently.

Have not Ecclesiastical Commissioners been already appointed to regulate

these matters?

Yes. But during the years which have elapsed since their appointment, they have been repairing and gilding the pinnacles of the Church, instead of examining its foundations and strengthening its walls. And this is chiefly owing to the manner of their appointment.

In what way would you have had them chosen?

By the people: and there never will be any efficient reform of the Church till the Commissioners are chosen by the people.

In what way would you propose that they should act?

I would have them abolish the office of deans, archdeacons, canons, prebendaries, as unscriptural, and injurious to the interests of the Church, and would enable the Commissioners to receive the incomes of all these offices thus destroyed, of all sinecures and useless offices of cathedrals, together with the revenue of all benefices.

But is it your opinion that the services of the Church would be as well per-

formed when the stipends of the larger benefices were reduced?

Much better performed. The persons who perform the greater part of the duties of the larger benefices are the curates, and when they had adequate salaries, they would have more encouragement to exertion, and would do more for their country than the rich, proud, and indolent rectors, who, by their wealth and personal importance, usurp the authority of lords over God's heritage, instead of being their servants.

How would you place the clergy in situations for which they are respec-

tively adapted ?

By allowing the people to select their own ministers; as this plan would place the pious, talented, and industrious, in important stations, and would allot to less suitable persons a smaller sphere of duty.

Do you approve of the manner in which the Bishops are chosen?

Not at all. They are generally placed in their elevated stations by the patronage of the nobility and the government; and when so placed they look to their patrons for further promotion. A bishop, if he pleases the government, is removed to a more lucrative bishopric; so that sometimes the same diocese has two or three bishops within a single year, none of whom seriously attend to its welfare, but merely wait for a higher step, to obtain which they are not unfrequently led to act as dishonourable a part in the House of Lords as the mere placeman or pensioner does in the House of Commons.

What alteration would you propose?

With respect to their sitting in the House of Lords, which beyond any thing else fosters ambition, and renders them too proud to be approached with confidence by the inferior clergy, I would abolish the practice altogether. Our bishops would then give their time and attention to the affairs of the Church, instead of associating with royalty, and seeking the acquaintance of dukes and earls. I would cut down their unrighteous incomes with an unsparing hand, and apportion their salaries to their duties.

Has the need of these reforms never occurred to those "who are in place

of authority" in the Church?

The rulers of the Church have been proposing various reforms in matters of minor importance, but personal interest appears to have blinded their eyes to the more glaring evils connected with themselves.

Can you show by an instance that the dignitaries of the Church see the

impropriety of enormous revenues when enjoyed by other dignitaries?

I can. In a speech recently made by the Bishop of London, in the House of Lords, he makes the following remarks upon the Canons and the Cathedral Clergy of St. Paul's:—"I pass the magnificent Church which crowns the metropolis, and is consecrated to the noblest of objects, the glory of God, and I ask myself in what degree it answers that object. I see there a dean and three residentiaries, with incomes amounting in

the aggregate to between ten and twelve thousand pounds a-year; I see, too, connected with the cathedral, twenty-nine clergymen, whose offices are all but sinecures, with an annual income of twelve thousand pounds, and likely to be very much larger after the lapse of a few years. I proceed a mile or two to the E. and N.E. and find myself in the midst of an immense population, in the most wretched destitution and neglect: artizans, mechanics, labourers, beggars, thieves, to the number of three hundred thousand." In reply to which, Sydney Smith, one of the canons of St. Paul's, thus addresses the bishop: -"This stroll in the metropolis is extremely well contrived for your lordship's speech; but suppose, my dear lord, that instead of going E. and N.E., you had turned about, crossed London bridge, and resolving to make your walk as impartial as possible, had proceeded in a S.W. direction, you would soon in that case have perceived a vast palace, containing, not a dean, three residentiaries, and twenty-nine clergymen, but one attenuated prelate, with an income, enjoyed by himself alone, amounting to £30,000 per annum, twice as great as that of all these confiscated clergymen put together; not one penny of it given up by Act of Parliament during his life to that spiritual destitution he so deeply deplores, and £15,000 per annum secured to his successor; though all the duties of the office might be most effectually performed for one-third of the salary."

How many classes of Christian ministers are mentioned in the New Testament? Only two. The one, bishops, presbyters, or priests, which are syno-

nymous; and the other deacons.

From what source, then, are the other titles derived, such as deans, subdeans, canons, and minor-canons, prebends, arch-deacons, precentors, and vicars choral?

They were all derived from the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Why, then, were they not done away at the Reformation?

Archbishop Cranmer and others endeavoured to abolish them, and indeed the decree had almost passed; but in consequence of the great number of important changes then effected, it was thought not to be advisable to press this and similar improvements at that period, but to leave them for a succeeding age. It is, however, to be regretted that the alterations were not then made, since those particulars which were left for further reform are still remaining just as they were.

How do you propose to elect the Bishops?

By the united suffrages of the clergy and the people.

Have you any authority for this mode of election of Bishops?

Yes. It was the ancient mode. "When a parish or bishopric was vacant through the death of the incumbent, all the members of that parish, both clergy and laity, met together to choose a fit person for his successor, to whom they might commit the care and government of their church. Thus when Alexander was chosen Bishop of Jerusalem, it was by the compulsion or choice of the members of the church."—Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 11. And as for the Bishopric of Rome, we have a memorable instance of this kind in the advancement of Fabianus to that See upon the death of Bishop Anterus. And as Fabianus, so likewise his successor Cornelius, "was elected by the suffrage of the elergy and laity." Thus also with respect to the diocese of Carthage, Cyprian was chosen Bishop thereof by its inhabitants and members, as Pontius his deacon writes, "that though

he was a novice, yet by the grace of God, and the favour of the people, he was elevated to that sublime dignity." Cyprian himself frequently owns that he was promoted to that honourable charge by the "suffrage of the people."—Epist. 55. § 7.

If the Clergy or the Bishops render themselves unfit for their office by their misconduct, or by grievous errors in doctrine, ought there not to be a power

of dismissal vested in some quarter?

Yes. There was, originally, this power in the hands of the people, and it ought to be restored to them. We are informed that, "If Bishops proved afterwards scandalous and grossly wicked, or at least heretical in doctrine and apostates from the faith, the people had power to expel them. and to choose others in their places." Martialis and Basilides, two Spanish Bishops, were, for apostacy and idolatry, deserted by their parishes, who elected Felix and Sabinus bishops in their stead. After this, Martialis and Basilides claimed the exercise of their episcopal authority, but their parishes denied it to them; and that they might not seem to act by a power which belonged not to them, they sent to several Bishops in Africa to know their judgment thereupon, who being convened in a synod, (anno 258,) whereof Cyprian was president, approved and commended their proceedings, assuring them "that it was according to the divine aw, which was express that none but those that were holy and blameless should approach God's altar:—that if they had continued to have communicated with their profane Bishops they would have been accessories to their guilt and villany, and would have contradicted those examples and commands in Scripture which oblige a people to separate from their wicked and ungodly ministers:—that they had not acted irregularly in what they had since done, as the people had the chief power of choosing worthy Bishops, so also of refusing those that were unworthy."—Epist. 38. apud Cyprian.

Had the people any share in the government of the Church in those days? Yes. All things relating to the government of the Church were performed by the joint consent of the clergy and the laity. The people were to do nothing without the bishop (Ignatius Epist.), and on the contrary, 'the bishop did nothing without the knowledge and consent of his beople."—(Cyprian Epist. 6.) When any letters came from foreign churches, they were received and read before the whole church; and the whole church agreed upon letters to be sent to other churches. And so or all other matters relating to the policy of the church they were nanaged "by the common advice and counsel of the clergy and laity."

Do you approve of the Ecclesiastical Courts of England?

No. I would abolish them forthwith as a great public evil.

What was the ancient custom of the Church in the enforcing of discipline? Offences of members were tried by the whole Church. When two subleacons of his parish had committed some great misdemeanors, Cyprian professes that he himself was not a sufficient judge of their crimes, but hat they ought to be tried by all the people. And concerning Felicissimus, he schismatic, he writes to the people from his exile, that if it pleased God, he would come to them after Easter, and then that affair should be adjusted according to their arbitrament and common counsel.

Would not these arrangements keep the sons of noblemen and wealthy

nentlemen from taking orders?

They would; and of all the blessings conferred on the Church of England, this perhaps would be the greatest. It would then cease to be prostituted to political purposes; there would then be no easy profession left, with its splendid incomes for the profligate and indolent. It has too long been the disgrace of the Church of England, that its offices have been held by the most worthless and abandoned, who for filthy lucre's sake have consented to become hypocrites; they take their tithes and receive their fees, but of the welfare of the people, from whom they derive their riches, they care not at all; yea, they are frequently at variance with them—equally despising and despised. Every temptation to men of pleasure, of rank, and of title, to enter the church for the sake of its honours or emoluments, should be entirely removed.

Is it not an act of injustice to deprive a person of his accustomed salary?

Not by any means when the salary itself is unjust. It is rather doing an act of justice to all parties to see that such salaries are apportioned to

the duties performed.

As you would intrust most important matters to these Commissioners, of

whom ought they to consist?

Of wise and judicious, upright and zealous men, celebrated for their extensive knowledge of human nature.

In what way would you have this effected?

I would have them chosen by twenty-five of the largest towns, each of such towns electing two Commissioners.

In what way might these towns obtain the privilege of electing the Church

Reform Commissioners?

The Sovereign has power to issue a Commission and to insert therein any names that may be approved; and since it is acknowledged by all, that Parliament has enough to do in conducting the civil affairs of the realm, and that the situation of the Church is such as to require the undivided attention of intelligent men, if petitions were forwarded to the Queen from all parts of the empire, to the effect that the persons so elected might constitute a Church Reform Commission, the Queen, as head of the Church, would, in all probability, graciously listen to them; and it would remain for Parliament to grant the necessary powers.

In what manner should the election of Commissioners be conducted?

I would have every man who can read and write permitted to vote: the votes to be taken by ballot*: no canvassing to be allowed; but the candidates to be invited to public meetings to explain their sentiments and to answer questions.

There are already many elections in which the people take no interest,

might they not show similar apathy in this?

They might: and in order to obviate this great evil, which is of constant occurrence under the present system, I would suggest that the elections of all public officers, throughout the kingdom, take place in one day. Such a day would be regarded by the people as a day of great responsibility; a deeper interest would be excited; and on the high tide of public opinion, able men would be brought into every department of the state.

This plan seems effectually calculated to rouse public attention, but would

^{*} A mode of choice adopted by the privileged, but denied to the people. The Pope is elected by ballot, by the conclave of cardinals.

not so many elections taking place at once be attended with some confusion?

Not in the least. Suppose, for instance, this general day of election each year to be the first of January, and that every one who had proved his ability to read and write had been enrolled on the list of voters, and had received a certificate of qualification: suppose further that the names of all candidates had been duly left at every house some weeks before, and that opportunities had been afforded to every district to hear the sentiments of these candidates, and to ask them questions;—I propose that each voter proceed to the place of election and put into the ballot box a paper like the following

VOTING PAPER;

I vote for A.B. as my representative in Parliament.

I vote for C. D. as my representative in the Town Council.

I vote for E. F. as my representative in the Church Reform Commission I vote for G. H. as my representative in the Board of Guardians.

I vote for J. K. as the Minister of Religious Instruction of this parish.

These simultaneous elections would bring together a larger number of voters than could be drawn together by any one election; and would obtain that which is so desirable and yet so difficult to obtain—a fair expression of the public voice.

Is it right that an indiscriminate multitude of voters, many of whom have no knowledge of religious matters, should decide the election of a parochial

minister?

They would as a mass possess more religious knowledge than many of the present patrons. Besides, the Church of England has already recognised this method; there being many parishes in which the incumbents of livings are elected by all the parishioners; three such parishes being in the town of Cambridge* alone. Wherever public money is paid, the public ought to have a voice in the election of the person who receives it. If, however, any congregation wish to elect their own minister, without the interference of a mixed multitude of voters, they have only to surrender their portion of ecclesiastical revenue, and then they may fairly demand the right to elect the minister whom they, by their own contributions, support.

By what means would you have these Commissioners supported?

By suitable salaries, out of those funds, for the better administration of which, they were appointed: ten times the amount of one day's income being deducted for every day of absence from the meetings of the Commissioners, except in case of sickness, or urgent necessity to be nade out to the satisfaction of the majority.

For what period would you have each Commissioner continue in office?

For two years; one-half of them going out each year.

What means would you adopt as a security against the abuse of power? I would recommend that the powers and duties of the Church Reform Commissioners should be carefully defined, by a previous commission similarly elected for the express purpose, which should sit for one month n order to draw out regulations for their guidance, and to arrange such

^{*} The late Rev. C. Simeon was elected by the parishioners of Trinity Church, in Cambridge t a time when very few patrons would have selected him for preferment.

a system of checks and precautions as a knowledge of public business would dictate. After the meeting of the previous commission, clerks and auditors should be appointed, who should keep exact accounts of all proceedings, and lay them every week before the public in a "Church Reform Gazette," setting forth the receipts and disbursements of the commission, and all matters of general interest.

Since ten thousand clergymen, each receiving on an average £200 a-year, would only require two millions a-year, how would you appropriate the

remaining four millions?

To the support of the destitute poor; and to the repair and necessary expenses which attend the performance of divine service in the parish churches; according to the original intention of ecclesiastical revenue. The congregations of many parish churches and episcopal chapels keep in repair the buildings, and support their own ministers, without any assistance from Church Property or from Church Rates. If this plan were generally adopted by the more intelligent congregations, and if the income attached to their respective churches were surrendered for public purposes, the four millions, together with the amount thus surrendered, would enable the Legislature to abolish all Church Rates and Poor Rates; and with them all compulsory religion and compulsory charity.

Each of the following Pamphlets of the Rev. T. Spencer, weighs, with an envelope, less than half an ounce.

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CORN LAWS,

AND THE

NATIONAL DEBT;

or,

THE PARSON'S DREAM,

AND

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

BY A SOMERSETSHIRE CLERGYMAN.

SECOND THOUSAND.

LONDON: JOHN GREEN, 121, NEWGATE-STREET.

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THE CORN LAWS,

AND

THE NATIONAL DEBT;

OR,

THE PARSON'S DREAM, AND THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

I am inclined to think that our prospects of reform in church and state depend, under providence, upon our beloved Queen. In her countenance, as she went in state to open her first parliament, I thought I discerned the intelligence and firmness which would, at some future day, prompt her to come forth as the vindicator of God's justice and the asserter of the people's rights, against the wealthy few by whom the industrious many are now oppressed. Events have since occurred which were calculated to overwhelm with anxiety the youthful mind of Queen Victoria; but in the midst of the slanderous malice of a political faction and the traitorous designs of spies and assassins, her Majesty has acted as one would act who was capable of performing an important part on the national stage. With these impressions upon my mind, I was one day reading in Tait's Magazine a passage on the Corn Laws; and the two subjects became thus insensibly connected in my thoughts, and furnished the materials for a vivid dream of the following night. In my dream I read aloud the extract from Tait; I asked if it were possible that, in a country so religious and with institutions for the idolatrous heathen and for the enslaved African, so philanthropic, such things could be !- and especially if it were possible that a Queen, surrounded by venerable Bishops and pious clergy, could tolerate such injustice! Then it occurred to me that her Majesty might not have heard of the corn laws, and that her indignation would be roused if she knew that one part of her subjects was enriching itself by the fruits of the labour of the other part. Under this impression I determined to transmit to her Majesty a copy of the passage by our admirable penny post, to obtain which for us she had not only given her sanction, but had conceded her own right of sending letters free; and in a distinct hand I wrote it out as follows:—

"How DO POOR MEN LIVE?-The corn laws is a misnomer for what is generally signified by them-namely, the taxes on food. It should be familiarly known that every man, and woman, and child, who earns a shilling by the sweat of the brow, in laying it out for food, gives at least threepence to the landowners, who are the law-makers; that it is not bread, not corn alone that is directly taxed for the landowners' benefit, but all sorts of food. For example, fine new Dutch butter is now selling in the city in which we write at 10d. a pound; but the import duty upon this butter is 25 per cent., which, were it an article of free trade, as it is one of universal consumption, might be bought at 7d. a pound. Foreign cheese is so heavily taxed, that cheese for which the working man pays 6d. a pound could be bought for 4d. The present duty on ham is, we believe, 28s. per hundred weight. But there is also strict prohibition on the importation of all kinds of fresh meat, beef, pork, mutton, &c., and a duty on eggs and fresh fruits. From Belgium and Holland, and the opposite coasts of France, the daily and hourly supply of untaxed provisions to our great towns, by means of steamers and railways, would have an instant effect in reducing prices. which we need not describe. The corn laws, then, popularly mean the mouth-tax, the trencher and pot-tax, the food-impost. They comprehend the butter, the cheese, the ham, the hung beef, the egg and poultry impost, fastened upon the industry of the country, for the immediate benefit of the landowners, and for their ultimate injury. These laws mean as well the candle and soap laws, as the import duty which enhances the price of meat raises that of tallow; so that soap and candles are first taxed in the raw material, and then excised when manufactured. Let us, then, give the corn laws their true designation—the MOUTH TAX, the FOOD IMPOST. Men live not by bread alone, nor yet in this country by any one necessary which escapes the landowners. Along with engravings and models of the different sizes of the loaf, which is of equal price in despotic Russia, revolutionary France, and in free and happy England, there should be side by side, engravings and models of hams, cheeses, and tubs of butter, all so 'beautifully less' for equivalent sums of Englishmen's

money. It is worse than idle to waste one more word upon British landowners. On this subject they are given over to the curse of judicial blindness. In laboriously undermining the manufactures and trade of their country, while they half starve their countrymen, they must be left to kill the goose that laid them golden eggs in their own way. Their sin will then find them out; or the sins of their fathers must be visited upon the children, if the injury last so long."—Tait.

I received the following answer by return of post.

"Windsor, January 14, 1841.

"Rev. Sir,—I thank you for the extract from Tait. I was not previously aware of the injustice practised upon my people. I laid it before the Privy Council, but my Lords declare that, in consequence of the National Debt, domestic agriculture cannot compete with foreign agriculture without the protection of the corn laws. My Lords tell me that the empire over which I reign is a mortgaged estate; and that high prices and high rents are necessary in order to enable them to pay the interest of the mortgage. I will direct my attention to the subject of Free Trade; in the mean time I will impose a task upon you:—Write for my inspection the speech which you would desire me to deliver from the throne, on the opening of the ensuing session of parliament.

VICTORIA."

I therefore proceeded to sketch the following

QUEEN'S SPEECH.

'My Lords and Gentlemen,—I receive the most friendly assurances from foreign powers. The affairs of Syria and China present a most favourable aspect. I should deeply deplore the necessity for war. I regard war as a savage relic of barbarous ages; and of less practical utility in settling the matters in dispute than friendly arbitration. I should also deeply regret any further addition to the National Debt, which is already grievous in its pressure upon the industrious classes; and I shall most readily concur in the proposed scheme of a congress of nations for the adjustment of national differences.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—I learn with regret that there has been during the past year much distress and consequent discontent at home. I am told that food has been dear, work scarce, and wages low.

I am informed that the want of employment is owing to th

restrictions on trade; and that if the merchants might bring back the corn of foreign nations in exchange for the goods which they export, the manufacturers would be able to give to the operatives employment in abundance; and that, with the prosperity of the manufacturer, must follow the prosperity of the operatives, inasmuch as it has been declared to me, that of every twenty shillings received by the master manufacturer, nineteen shillings are distributed amongst his workmen in wages.

I am told, on the other hand, that it is impossible to throw open our ports to foreign corn, in consequence of the heavy burthen of taxation required for the payment of the National Debt, which renders the agricultural portion of my subjects unable to compete with the cultivators of foreign soils.

Duly weighing these conflicting statements, I am deeply impressed with the necessity of removing from the shoulders of my people the burthen of the National Debt. I am convinced that, if it be not speedily removed by the hand of prudence and justice, it will be thrown off by some national convulsion, to the great detriment of our national honour, to the distress of thousands of widows and persons of small incomes arising from the funds, and to the destruction of many admirable institutions, such as Savings Banks, Friendly Societies, and Provident Insurance Companies. I have therefore endeavoured to devise a plan by which the National Debt may be paid off, and all these evils avoided.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—The plan I have to propose will require your cordial co-operation and some personal sacrifice. But to those whose love for their country would lead them to die on the field of battle in its defence, the sacrifice of a portion of property can be of light esteem, when its object is to deliver my kingdom from mortgage, and my people from oppression.

In the sacrifice that I am about to recommend to you, I shall set you the example; and that I may prove myself worthy of being your ruler, I shall make the greatest sacrifice; and shall deem those most worthy of exalted rank amongst the nobles of the land who shall most nearly imitate my example. To them also will appertain a greatness superior to all earthly honour; as my lords the bishops will inform you, that excessive wealth is extremely prejudicial to the eternal interests of its possessor; that there is a solemn warning given to the rich man who fares sumptuously whilst the poor at his gate are in want of bread;

that at the last awful day of account, the having intentionally increased the price of the poor man's bread will be regarded by the Righteous Judge of All, as though the parties had done it to him; and as though, when he had not where to lay his head, they had purposely placed the necessaries and comforts of life beyond his reach. These successors of the apostles, who made great exertions in order to supply the wants of such as suffered from the famine in Judea, will teach you that it is hard for them that have riches to enter into the kingdom of God; and they will point out, for your imitation, instances of converts to our holy religion, who gave, some half their goods, and some the whole, for the supply of the necessities of their brethren. And they will, doubtless, enforce their precepts by their personal compliance with the recommendations, which, in the course of this address, I shall make to them.

It has been stated that there are a thousand persons residing within a circle whose radius is ten miles, this house being the centre, whose united property is sufficient to pay off the National Debt. It is not to be expected, however, that any particular class should surrender their entire property; and it is but just that all who have riches, that is, all who possess food, clothing, and habitation, and something to spare, should bear their share in this noble enterprise. It is also not necessary that the whole sum of eight hundred millions be liquidated in one year. It will be more equitable to the present generation to extend the payment over the next twenty years; and in the humble hope that I may live to see these my dominions free from debt I have determined to surrender

- 1.—All my palaces, lands, and forests, except Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle.
- 2.—All revenues derived from the duchies of Cornwall, Laucaster, or from any other source, except the Civil List.
- 3.—One half of my annual income arising from the Civil List, including the funds from which State pensions are paid, leaving all pensioners to seek a more honourable source of income.

I have no doubt but that, in like manner, her Majesty the Queen Dowager will, out of the income of £100,000 a-year, willingly cede to the nation, £90,000 a-year; and that, being only an individual without family or incumbrance, she will be most happy to live upon £10,000 a-year.

1 am confident that my uncles, the Kings of Belgium and Ha-

nover, will see it to be their duty to surrender all income or emolument which they now receive from this country.

Each of my ministers of state will be most happy to serve the country for £2,000 instead of £5,000 a-year, and my ambassadors, officers of my household, and all commissioners will accede to a similar reduction.

Out of regard to the peculiar sanctity of the office of the bishops, and to remove the scandal to religion which the wealth and pomp of the prelacy have brought upon it, I do, with the authority vested in me, as head of the church in all things of a secular nature, recommend them to cede their income, their palaces, and their lands, with the accumulated wealth they have laid up, to the supply of the exigencies of the state; thus testifying their conviction that "it is more blessed to give than to receive;" and in order that, having learned to abound, they may now learn, in humble circumstances, to be therewith content; and that they may render useful service; and, after the fashion of apostolic simplicity, be able to appeal to their brethren, to witness that their own hands have ministered to their necessities. I further recommend them to depart from this house; and diligently to apply their minds, first to the practice and then to the preaching of Christ's holy gospel.

As head of the church, I further propose that the property of all chapters and cathedrals, all incomes of deans, canons, and prebends, and of all livings, the excess above £300 a-year, be devoted to the same great object. And as it is one of the first lessons which the instructors of youth should instil into their minds to "owe no man anything," and as that precept is equally applicable to men in their collective as in their individual capacity, I would suggest to the masters, tutors, and fellows of all colleges and endowed schools that they surrender one half of the estates of such colleges and schools.

The property of the lords temporal, and of all wealthy commoners, I propose to set free from all entail and by an act of the legislature, to abolish the law of primogeniture; and I recommend that your lordships vie with each other in the extent of property that you will dedicate to this great object; and let it henceforth be deemed a crime against the state for a wealthy man to leave property to those who are already wealthy, instead of bequeathing it to provide for the reasonable expenditure of the country to which he owes his birth, his many privileges, and the protection of his property.

I am credibly informed that the less respectable portion of the aristocracy are in the habit of violating the laws, and committing breaches of the peace, by wrenching off knockers, breaking windows, and assaulting the police, for which the punishment which the laws provide is utterly inadequate; I therefore propose that a fine of £1,000 for each offence be paid towards the liquidation of the National Debt; and if the offence be that of endeavouring by bribery or intimidation to influence an elector in the exercise of his franchise, that the fine in such case be the forfeiture of one half of the estate to the same purpose; and if the person so offending be in his minority, or not come into possession of his estate, one half of the estate of his father, who has brought up a son in principles and practices so dishonourable.

My Lords and Gentlemen-Permit me to assure you that the noble sacrifice which I now recommend will be infinitely superior to your ostentatious charities and subscriptions to religious societies. To sanction a system which makes men poor, and then by parochial relief, or gifts of bread, clothing, or fuel, to pretend to pity their poverty, is a mockery of true charity, which " seeketh not her own, which thinketh no evil, and rejoiceth not in iniquity." You part with a few hundreds to feed the poor, but you take from them as many thousands, and you glory in the deed. You subscribe to the building of churches; and if you do so in the spirit of that man who, because he loved the Jewish nation, built them a synagogue, you do well; but you have no right to be generous until you have been just. You are spending on churches that which is not yours, but that which belongs to the people. Such profession of religion, whilst you neglect its great command, "to love your neighbour as yourself," and "to do to others as you would that they should do unto you," is the very cause of the abhorrence which millions now feel towards that holy religion, and of the infidelity now so increasingly prevalent. To the rich young man, who came to our Lord to ask what he should do, it was not said, "Build a synagogue," or "Subscribe to religious institutions," but-"Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the POOR, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." The industrious millions of this empire are POOR, and burthened with debt; I urge upon you the performance of the sacrifice which He whom you profess to serve, urged upon the rich when he was upon earth. If you do not trust in riches, you will willingly follow the advice

which I give, and the example which I am about to set; and if you do trust in riches, the duty is still more urgent, for all your prayers and services are nothing until you can become willing to part with the treasure on which your heart is fixed. You are not invited to take upon you the Christian name until you have done this, since the order of proceeding is, "Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor," and then, "come and follow me." You are not invited to present your subscriptions to religious institutions; on the contrary, so long as the people have just cause of complaint against you, the command to you is, "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Remove the evil consequences of those unrighteous wars in which you and your fathers involved the nation; do away with those partial and oppressive laws which you and your fathers have enacted; and if you would have a religion worthy of the respect of common sense, imitate the converted publican Zaccheus, and say, "Behold, Lord, half of my goods I give unto the poor; and if I have taken anything from any man, I restore him four-fold." Such a religion would be far better than the profession of even the purest creed, and would infinitely surpass the childish conceits of Puseyism.

I call upon all who possess property, in land or money, to make a sacrifice in proportion to its amount; and that all England may know whether every man does his duty, I shall cause the names of all the inhabitants of every town to be enrolled in a town roll, and those of a county in a county roll; and in columns left for the purpose each individual shall enter the value of his possessions, and the sum he is willing to give for the deliverance of his country from national bankruptcy; and a copy of such lists shall be printed and placed in the hands of every householder in such town or county.

And that it may never again be in the power of an unprincipled legislature to inflict upon the people another National Debt, I am prepared to give my assent to such a measure of Parliamentary Reform as shall return a House of Commons truly representing the people. With the entire failure of the last Reform Bill before my eyes, and with the disgraceful exhibitions of the Registration Courts, I will agree to no measure that does not give to my people the ballot, as the only means of protection against the interference of tyrannical men; and

that does not extend the suffrage to every man who can prove himself to be sufficiently intelligent to be entrusted with a vote. And as a Parliament so elected ought to be permitted to begin, continue, and end its deliberations without fear of external jurisdiction, I will most readily surrender my prerogative of dissolving at pleasure such Parliament. If I find that my present ministers have not sufficient fidelity to their country to introduce such new Reform Bill into this Parliament, I will call to my counsels other ministers of a more noble spirit.

And inasmuch as my people find it difficult to obtain justice in our courts of law, in consequence of the uncertainty of the law, and the mercenary practices of lawyers, I am determined to provide a simple code of laws, to be placed in every man's hand, which shall secure cheap and speedy justice between man and man. In order to this, I now offer 10 prizes of £1000 each for the 10 most perfect essays upon this subject, pointing out equitable laws and the equitable execution of them; such code of laws not to exceed in size the New Testament; to involve the principle of arbitration; of settling by an authority to be agreed upon by the parties any doubtful point; and to contain suitable penalties for those persons who shall needlessly bring their fellow-citizens before a tribunal of justice.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—Having summoned you in parliament to consult for the good of the nation, I cannot doubt your readiness to take into serious consideration the propositions which I have now laid before you; nor will I permit myself to fear that you are so ignorant of the signs of the times, so indifferent to the peace of society, or so attached to the wealth which you possess, as to be unwilling to carry them into execution.'

This speech was delivered from the throne amidst the consternation of the selfish and the delight of the patriotic: its contents were spread with railway speed throughout the kingdom; the hearts of the people were brought back to their Queen as the heart of one man. The Chartist declared that he would wait for the Queen's promised Charter; the Socialist that he would wait for the new order of things; the Republican declared that even if there were a republic he would vote for Victoria as President; but that with such principles, he should be quite reconciled to the monarchy: the proud priests and prelates frowned; but the words of Scripture, as in letters of

fire, condemned them for their greediness of filthy lucre; all faithful pastors and their flocks rejoiced; England laughed in every valley and on every hill; in every town the bells rang merrily, and the cannon roared; the people marched in procession through the streets; and, in the midst of the shouts of "God save the Queen," "Long live the Queen," I awoke, and behold it was a dream.

January 16th, 1841.

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THE

OUTCRY

AGAINST THE

NEW POOR LAW;

OR,

WHO IS THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND?

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF HINTON CHARTERHOUSE, NEAR BATH,
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THE OUTCRY, &c.

There are two methods of dealing with the evils which men bring upon themselves; one is, to save men from the consequences of their misconduct, which leads them to do the like again, and encourages others to follow their example: the other is, to allow such as will learn in no other way, to learn by experience that, "the way of transgressors is hard;" and that, "the way of the slothful is as a hedge of thorns." This connexion between cause and effect is the very essence of the divine government; and the moral discipline, which is to train men for a better state of things, is thwarted in proportion as spurious charity removes the chastisement which bad conduct incurs; and it is promoted in proportion as the principles of self support are enforced. "In the present state," says Bishop Butler, in his great work, The Analogy, "all which we enjoy, and a great part of what we suffer, is put into our own power. For pleasure and pain are the consequences of our actions; and we are endued by the Author of our nature with capacities of foreseeing these consequences. We find by experience he does not so much as preserve our lives, exclusively of our own care and attention, to provide ourselves with, and to make use of that sustenance, by which he has appointed that our lives shall be preserved; and without which, he has appointed, they shall not be preserved at all. I know not that we have any one kind or degree of enjoyment, but by means of our own actions. And by prudence and care, we may, for the most part, pass our days in tolerable ease and quiet: or, on the contrary, we may by rashness, ungoverned passions, wilfulness, or even by negligence, make ourselves as miserable as ever we please; and many do please to make themselves extremely miserable."

It was with due regard to this salutary discipline that the tried friend of the poor, Dr. Franklin, framed his useful maxims. He did not flatter the poor; he did not seek popularity by recommending the palliatives of charitable gifts and parochial allowance; but, knowing that prevention is better than cure, he displayed the most genuine benevolence in endeavouring to remove the cause of their degradation rather than in providing the means of support under it. In reference to the English Poor Laws, he says, "I am for doing good to the poor; but I differ in opinion about the means. I think the best way of doing good to the poor, is, not making them easy in poverty, but leading or driving them out of it. In my youth, I travelled much; and I observed, in different countries, that the more public provisions were made for the poor, the less they provided for themselves: and, of course, became poorer: and, on the contrary, the less was done for them, the more they did for themselves, and, of course, became richer. There is no country in the world, where so many provisions are established for them; so many hospitals to receive them when they are sick or lame, founded

and maintained by voluntary charities; so many alms-houses for the aged; together with a general law made by the rich to subject their estates to a heavy tax, for the support of the poor. Under all these obligations, are the poor modest, humble, and thankful? Do they use their best endeavours to maintain themselves, and lighten your own shoulders of the burthen? On the contrary, I affirm, that there is no country in the world, in which the poor are more idle, dissolute, drunken, and insolent. The day you passed that act, you took away from before their eyes, the greatest of all inducements to industry, frugality, and sobriety, by giving them a dependance on somewhat else, than a careful accumulation, during health and youth, for the support of age and sickness. In short, you offered a premium to idleness; and you should not wonder that it has had its effect in the increase of poverty. Repeal that law; and you will soon see a change in their manners. Saint Monday and Saint Tuesday will soon cease to be holidays; "six days shalt thou labour," though one of the old commandments, long treated as out of date, will again he looked upon as a respectable precept; industry will increase; and with it plenty amongst the lower people: their circumstances will mend; and more will be done for their happiness by inuring them to provide for themselves, than could be done, by dividing all your estates among them."

Without commenting upon the assertion of a Lord Chief Justice, that it was better that one man in seven should die of want than that the rest should be corrupted by a reliance upon parochial relief, I venture to say, that it is such sentiments as those of Dr. Franklin that are calculated to rouse the energies and to better the condition of the poor; and that they are the poor man's most dangerous enemies who advise him to claim as his right a maintenance upon the soil on which he was born, and who describe this right as constituting the superiority of England over all other nations. But for this maintenance at the expense of a parish, the people of England might have been superior to the people of all other countries; but it is a great mistake to suppose that such is now the case. In a "Report on the training of pauper children," which has been recently laid before the Secretary of State, it appears, from a variety of disinterested testimony, that the same inferiority in the English Poor, which was observed by Dr. Franklin, and subsequently by many travellers, is still affirmed by persons who have in their employ men of all nations in Europe; and they still assert, almost in his words, that "there is no country in the world in which

the poor are more idle, dissolute, drunken, and insolent."

The following extracts are from the evidence of Albert G. Escher, esq. "You are an engineer residing at Zurich? Yes; I am one of the part-

ners of the firm of Escher, Wyss, and Co., of Zurich.

What opportunities have you had of observing the moral and intellectual condition of working men of different countries?—We employ six hundred men in our machine-making establishments at Zurich; two hundred men in our cotton mills there; and five hundred men in our cotton manufactories in the Tyrol and in Italy. I have occasionally had the control of five hundred men engaged in engineering operations as builders, masons, &c., and men of the class called in England navigators.

Are the working people whom you employ in Switzerland natives of

that country?—No: partly Swiss, partly Germans of all the different States, partly French, some few Danes, some Norwegians, some Polanders, some Bohemians, some Hungarians, some English and Scotch, and some Dutch.

Have you been able to discern their national characteristics?—Yes; I have had very full opportunities of distinguishing their various characters; which I have had, moreover, opportunities of observing and studying in their own countries, in several of which I have conducted works."

After describing the national quickness of the Italians and French; the superior education and morals of the Saxon and Swiss; the skill of the English in the particular trade to which they had been brought up; and the honesty, economy, order, and trustworthiness of the Dutch,

the examination thus proceeds:-

"In respect to order and docility, what have you found to be the rank of your English workmen?—Whilst in respect to the work to which they have been specially trained they are the most skilful, they are in conduct the most disorderly, debauched, and unruly, and the least respectable and trustworthy of any nation whatsoever whom we have employed. In saying this, I express the experience of every manufac-

turer on the continent to whom I have spoken.

What is the character of the English workmen amongst the inhabitants of Zurich?—The uneducated English workmen were so disagreeable as lodgers, having such disorderly habits, spoiling the rooms, emptying vessels out of the windows, offending the people in the streets, and rendering the interference of the police necessary for the preservation of the peace, that they find it difficult to get lodgings, and are obliged to pay more for them. Such extra charges they call impositions. One of the most superior of the English workmen, to whom we gave 5l. a-week, had so low-bred a family (he came from Oldham, where they are notorious for want of education), that this salary scarcely sufficed for his expenses. We had the greatest difficulty to procure lodgings for him and his family; and we have had constant complaints respecting the family from the landlords, such as we never had respecting any foreigners. A Saxon or Swiss foreman or overlooker, with 1201. a-year, will be, with his family, respectably dressed, live in a respectable house, and his table will be provided with good, though simple food; his children will be well educated, he will himself frequent museums, or other respectable places of resort, and lay by perhaps 201. a-year; whereas an English overlooker will live in a less respectable manner; in a worse house, and that house dirtier; he will frequent wine houses, and be consequently in a much lower scale of society, and expend 150l. a-year, and when work fails he will be in a state of destitution. The educated English workmen are the only ones who save money out of their very large wages. By education, I mean not merely reading, writing, and arithmetic, but better general mental developement; the acquisition of better tastes, and of mental amusements and enjoyments, which are cheaper, whilst they are more refined. The most educated of our British workmen is a Scotch engineer, who has a salary of 3l. a-week, or 150l. a-year, of which he spends one-half; he lives in respectable lodgings, is always well dressed, frequents reading rooms, subscribes to a circulating library, purchases mathematical instruments, studies German, and has every rational enjoyment. We have an English workman, also a single man, and of the same standing, who has the same wages, also a very orderly and sober person; but as his education does not open to him the resources of mental enjoyment, he spends his evenings and Sundays in wine houses, because other sources of amusement pre-suppose a better education; and he spends his whole pay, or one-half more than the other."

The next evidence is that of a gentleman from the United States,

James Kempson, of Philadelphia, cotton manufacturer.

"With what extent of manufactures have you been conversant in America?—I have been acquainted with the manner of conducting manufactures in most of the manufacturing states.

What number of workmen do you employ in your manufactory?—

Above four hundred.

What proportion of them are natives of the United States?—Throughout New England, in which are the manufacturing States, above eight-tenths of the persons employed are natives of the United States.

Are many of the remaining two-tenths English workmen?—The greater part of them; but as a general rule they do not like to take

English workmen in the New England factories.

Why do they not like the English workmen?—Because they are so dissipated and so discontented. After they have been some time in the country they are noted as the greatest drunkards we have. The wholesale price of whiskey is with us ninepence a gallon; and they appear to be unable to overcome the temptation. Our own workmen are better educated, more intelligent, and more moral, and refrain more from sensual indulgence.

How does the discontent of the English workmen usually manifest itself?—In strikes and demands for wages, with which the masters cannot comply, and which grievously interfere with his commercial operations; their ignorant expectations generate ill-will and hostility towards

the masters.

The besetting sin of human nature is INDOLENCE: this indolence, whether mental or corporeal, requires a stimulus to action; and this stimulus is NECESSITY. To create this necessity, the earth was made less fruitful, the fire was hid in the flint, the metal in the mine, and the bread was to be eaten only in the sweat of the face. A lord chancellor being asked, "What will make a great lawyer?" replied, "Great talents and poverty." Take from the student the stimulus of necessity, give him present wealth and future expectations, and you cause him to lay aside that anxious diligence without which valuable knowledge cannot be acquired. Tell the millions of young and middle aged that when they are in need, or old age, their wants shall be supplied, and you remove the stimulus; you rebuke the careful man who, by denying himself, lays up in store for future contingencies. The scripture says, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise: which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest:" but you say, Go not to this school of industry, for you shall have an overseer to do this for you; though you sow not in spring, you shall reap in harvest. This encouragement to improvidence has been in operation nearly a hundred years · before that time parochial relief was little known; and, until the

last forty years, it was considered a disgrace to apply for relief; but from the year 1795, when power was given by Parliament to magistrates to order relief to persons at their own houses, the mischief has progressed with giant strides, until in many districts half the population had become paupers, and half the rental was taken for poor rates. During the war, it was the policy of statesmen to increase the population in order to supply the place of those who were slain in battle,* and to this end they furnished them with clothes, food, and houses; taught them to lay up nothing for children; nothing for age; but to depend upon justices of the peace for the supply of every want. "Let us," said Mr. Pitt, "make relief in cases where there are a number of children, a matter of right and honour, instead of a ground of opprobium and contempt." The increase of Poor Rates may be seen in the following returns laid before Parliament,

1767. 1803. £690,000 | 1,531,000 | 2,004,000 | 4,268,000 | 6,130,000 | 7,511,219

Idle men lived with their children and grandchildren upon these parochial funds, which by them were deemed the inexhaustible treasures of the state, but which did in fact come from their industrious neighbours, and which were in many places exhausted. In the parish of Hinton, the population of which is 735, the rates of which are now 2001. a-year, there was one year in which they amounted to nearly 1000l.; at that time one of the farmers paid in poor rates 100l. in the year, and that farmer died in poverty. I was present at his death bed, and saw his widow and children left destitute. In some parishes the poor rates exceeded the rental; and in one parish the farmers gave up their farms, and the landlords their estates, into the hands of paupers; yet, with the land in their possession, they could not maintain themselves, but a rate was made upon neighbouring parishes for their support. If the poor man's friend would go round with the collector of poor rates, and see the last shilling taken from the hands of some, and the goods of others sold to pay the rates, he would find more cause for pity in the hundreds who are thus annually precipitated into the gulf of pauperism, than in those who, as "paupers in their own right," ask without shame for that which their own present toil or previous forethought might have provided. Lord Erskine said in the House of Lords, that, "The contributors to the poor rates were more entitled to pity than those who receive them." In a table which I obtained from the collectors of rates in the Bath Union, I found 3000 rate-payers occupying premises, not exceeding ten pounds a-year, and many hundreds not exceeding five pounds a-year.

Inasmuch, then, as the old system placed a premium upon idleness, and a tax upon industry; inasmuch as, in pauperised districts, all classes had been corrupted by it; the poor were living upon it, the beer shops supported by it, and farmers paying the wages of labourers out of it; it became necessary to provide a remedy at once speedy and universal. And since those who pay to the state ought to have a voice in the disbursement of the money paid, it was desirable that the power

^{*} There were slain in the war with France 2,100,000. The cost to this country of this war was £1,058,000,000; the greater part of which is still unpaid in the National Debt.

† Hansard's Parliamentary History, 32. p. 710.

should be taken from the magistracy, and given to men chosen by the rate-payers, -every rate-payer having a right to nominate and to vote. And since, in these pauperised districts, persons elected as guardians might partake of the depraved principles around them, and since ignorance is ever obstinate, and a fool wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason, it became further necessary to prevent such men from thwarting the intentions of the legislature, by a power vested in a central board, the members of which should enjoy the confidence of the legislature which made the law. In the Poor Law Commissioners and the Assistant Commissioners we have this intelligent controlling power. In the law which they superintend, in their own appointment to office, and in the approval of their conduct in that office, the leaders of all parties in both Houses of Parliament have coincided; and amongst the warmest supporters of the new system may be found the names of Grey, Wellington, Lyndhurst, Melbourne. Brougham, Durham, and the Bishop of London, in the Lords; and in the Commons, Russell, Peel, Stanley, Hume, Roebuck, Grote, Leader, and Molesworth. Under this well contrived machinery, in this village, the poor rates were reduced from 700l. to 200l. within the two years preceding the formation of the Bath Union, by the mere act of deliverance from the hands of distant magistrates. The operation of that dangerous principle is thus described by a magistrate of the county of Pembroke: "Everybody is full of humanity and good nature when he can relieve misfortune by putting his hand in his neighbour's pocket. Who can bear to see a fellow-creature in pain and poverty when he can order other fellow-creatures to relieve him? Is it human nature that A should see B in tears and misery, and not order C to assist him?" When this power had ceased by the appointment of a select vestry; and when the Commissioners had informed the overseers that they were no longer to dispose of the poor rates according to their own caprice, but according to the orders of the select vestry, then the rates in one year fell from 700l. to 500l.; and in the next from 500l. to 200l., at which they have continued, with little variation, during the five years which have elapsed since the formation of the Union.

The following is our parochial expenditure since 1828:—

Year) 1829, | 1830, | 1831, | 1832, | 1833, | 1834, | 1835, | 1836, March £600 £950 £800 £750 £650 £700 £500 £200

In the Bath Union, the average expenditure for the three years previous to the formation of the Union, had been, 19,928l.; but on the first year of the Union it was reduced to 11,520l.; a reduction of more than forty per cent., and in the whole kindom, the poor rates, which in the year ending March, 1834, were 7,511,219l., were reduced in the year

ending March, 1837, to 4,800,735l.

Such being the terrible evils of pauperism, and such its promising remedy, how is it that there has been an outcry raised against it, not merely from the "lewd fellows of the baser sort," which might have been anticipated, but from honourable persons and chief men of cities? It may be well, in answering this question, to consider,—From whom THE OUTCRY COMES: -- AGAINST WHAT IT IS DIRECTED : -- AND WHAT EFFECTS IT HAS PRODUCED.

I. From whom does the outery come?—From interested parties; echoed by the ignorant and the timid. Before the Poor Law was passed, it commenced with alarming predictions; and there has been a ceaseless endeavour, by exciting language, to fulfil those predictions. Some magistrates regarding the diminution of their authority as a personal insult, forgot for a time their duty to their country, and disturbed that peace which they were appointed to preserve. Magistrates' clerks suffered a severe loss; every application for relief had brought a fee for the summons, and a fee for the hearing; and I have heard some of them candidly acknowledge that the New Poor Law, by removing these, took away the cream of their business. One clerk demanded of the Town Council of a distant town, 6000l. as compensation for his losses in summonses, orders of removal, &c.; and in one parish in Bath, the expenditure of which, for the year ending March, 1834, now lies before me, there were "paid to the Town and Magistrates' Clerk 115l. 15s.;—summonses, 20l.;—law expenses, 37l." There were thousands of paid overseers, yestry clerks, parish lawyers, and parish doctors; thousands of beer shops and gin shops at which the poor rates were expended; in one gin shop in London, the sum of 100l. was taken direct from the pay-table; and in a few hours consumed in liquid poison. It was in the metropolis that the host of parish jobbers was the most numerous; it was there that pauperism, inflated with gin, was the most rampant. There, women had received pay for dead or borrowed children; -- there, the same persons received pay from many parishes at the same time; -- and one person from six parishes, receiving, by successful imposition, every day a week's income. In the metropolis there were not many who would risk the concentrated odium of degraded multitudes; Mr. Grote nearly lost his election by the base use of this outcry; the placards and proceedings of his election I happened personally to witness. Whereas the parties interested were sufficiently numerous not only to raise an outcry, but to form a society, with funds for keeping up through the press a daily agitation for the repeal of the law. This outery provided a prop to falling newspapers, and a boon to the needy penny-a-line writers, whose income is in proportion to the number of "horrid murders," "shocking barbarities," "poor law atrocities," and "horrible infanticides." There are now in Parliament men who used this outcry as a means of obtaining their election. I witnessed the triumph of Sir Adolphus Dalrymple over Mr. Wigney, at Brighton, entirely through the appeals made by his party on the subject. At an election, at Worcester, I heard an orator declare to the mob that the opposing candidate had voted in Parliament that the aged poor should be killed. I saw the walls of Southampton covered with placards, one of which I obtained at the time, the statements contained in it I There were Anti-Corn-Law advocates, who shall notice presently. thought that the poor ought not to be thrown upon their own resources until the Corn Laws were abolished which diminished those resources; not sufficiently considering that adding another burthen could not benefit the previously burthened; and that poor rates taken from the industrious would still more diminish their resources. There were Chartist speakers who, though wishing to see all men supporting themselves by their industry, still thought that the Charter must first

be obtained, in order to give industry its rights; not remembering that from the pauper he could have no effectual assistance in obtaining those rights. By his weekly pay he is bound over to keep the peace, and is always at the mercy of those who give it; nor would he who prefers the bondage of pauperism, with its flesh pots, be fit to bear the hardships of a journey to the promised land of independence. No improvement in the condition of the country can ever be obtained by the assistance of drunkards or paupers. The political battle must be fought by sober and self-supporting men, and the ability of these men is diminished by every rate they pay. Many of the outcries were not believed by those who propagated them; but there were men so cruel in their disposition, that, measuring others by their own standard, they really believed, that one guardian would deliberately move, and another second, some oppressive resolution; that a chairman would put it to the vote, and the board carry it. Yet the fault, if any, rests not with the guardians, but with the ratepayers, who, year after year, return the same persons to the board.

II.—AGAINST WHAT IS THE OUTCRY DIRECTED? Such Members of Parliament as get into the House of Commons under false pretences, make large use of the popular odium against the New Poor Law; and in their speeches on the hustings, and in their printed addresses, they select those topics on which they find that the greatest indignation exists. In an address to the electors of South Hampshire from the committee for conducting the election of Compton and Fleming, in opposition to Staunton and Ommanney, these objections are stated in detail, and as they resemble those which were brought against Mr. Wigney, at Brighton, they may be considered as containing the charges against the New Poor Law most readily believed by the electors, I shall introduce

them singly, and offer a few remarks on each.

1.—"Let us have no more bastiles in which to imprison the poor man in his distress or the aged in his infirmity."—In the Bath Union workhouse, the aged and infirm, besides the usual visiting days, are allowed once amonth to go out for one, two, or three days, to see their friends; and this is usually as often as they desire. They enter the workhouse of their own accord; and at any time, by giving three hours' notice, they can depart. When our applications were increasing faster than our accommodation, we offered to the aged inmates the full amount of out-of-door relief, but almost all of them refused the offer; and many of them said, "Where can we get the good food and clothing and fires

and beds which we have here?"

2.—"No more starvation Union Poor Houses!"—Without including rent, or the attendance of officers, the food, clothing, and fuel alone, bought at the wholesale price, amount each week to 3s. 1d. for each inmate. I know a labouring man, a rate-payer, who has a wife and six small children, and his earnings are nine shillings a-week. After paying one shilling a-week for rent, there remain eight shillings to provide food, clothing, and fuel for eight persons; or a shilling a-week for each. If that labourer could buy his goods at the wholesale price as the guardians do, it would require 1l. 4s. 8d. a-week to enable himself and children to live as well as the inmates of the workhouse. In addition to the sum of 110l. paid each week by our relieving officers to paupers at their own homes, the following is the average amount of stock required by the

master for one week's consumption in our "Starvation Union Poor House."

1 cwt. rice 11 pints vinegar 2½ cwt. cheese 916 4lb. loaves 42 lbs. soap 42 lbs. salt } sack of flour 6 gallons peas 5 sacks potatoes 12 lbs. treacle 15 lbs. candles 429 lbs. beef and mutton lox head & 12 sets ox legs 12 lbs. of tea 1 gallon wine 41 tons coal. 76 lbs. sugar 11 gallons porter 133 lbs. bacon 76 lbs. butter 245 quarts milk 3s. worth eggs

The dietary enjoined by the Commissioners allows more food than most of the inmates can eat. A clothes basket was brought before the board, full of bread, cheese, and bacon, which had been left in one room. What would the labourer, exposed to all kinds of weather, and eating under a hedge his dinner of bread and cheese, think of hot meat and potatoes twice a-week, hot soup and hot puddings, with plenty of bread and cheese on other days? It is true we are not quite so generous with other people's money as some of old time. One of the rules of a workhouse under the old poor laws was, that every inmate might be helped to the beef and pudding as often as he liked, on condition that he emptied his plate each time. In other workhouses there was not even this condition, but whatever they could not eat they were allowed to exchange with the governor for gin; so that, in addition to his salary, he made a double profit, on the beef and on the gin; and the paupers had a double benefit, for when they had eaten till they were quite full, they drank till they were quite drunk.

3.—"No more pasteboard parish coffins!"—The coffins in which the deceased paupers are buried are constantly seen by the rate-payers and by the clergy: they re-elect the guardians, and, consequently, declare their conviction that what they have seen they approve. But with respect to the treatment of the dead, the new system is as superior to the old as it is with respect to the living. There was in the workhouse of Walcot a dead-house, from which unclaimed bodies were taken to the surgeons for dissection; and at the formation of the Union, applications to the board from surgeons of Bath having been refused, a letter was received from J. C. Somerville, Esq., laying before the Board complaints which these surgeons had made to him. It devolved upon me, on behalf of the board, to reply that we could not allow the surgeons to have the unclaimed bodies of deceased paupers, as we wished to avoid every thing which might

unnecessarily hurt the feelings of the poor.

4.—"No more flogging of little children because they are sick!"—I have been several years a member of the committee for the supervision of the children of the Bath Union Workhouse, and I believe that flogging is much less likely to take place there than in an ordinary school. We have in the house 261 children, of whom 144 are boys and 117 girls. We have a room fitted up as an infant school, in which are thirty children properly trained according to that interesting plan; and constantly with them is a respectable nurse, to whom we give 16l. a-year and her board. The schoolmaster, with a salary of 50l. a-year and his board, superintends the boys at all hours, and in the hours devoted to instruction, he teaches reading, writing, and arithmetic. Forty-eight of the boys learn tailoring and shoe making; twenty-four of them being half the day with a tailor who receives one guinea a-week, and twenty-four of

them half the day with the shoemaker with a similar salary; and by these boys all the clothes and shoes of more than 600 inmates are made and mended. The girls learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, half the day; and the other half they are employed in sewing, knitting, and stay-making. The schoolmistress, who is constantly with them, receives a salary of 30l. a-year and her board. At a meeting of the school committee on Tuesday last, (March 2,) several of the girls recited some wellselected pieces of poetry with great correctness and propriety. There is a large play-ground for the girls, with a swing, skipping ropes, &c.; and a play-ground similarly provided for the boys. Every week the boys take a walk of several miles with the master, and the girls with the mistress; and for evenings, and for leisure hours on rainy days, the board has provided a library for each school-room, containing valuable and interesting books. In fine weather the boys occasionally work in the garden. There are other circumstances which render it extremely improbable that instances of cruelty could occur without coming to the knowledge, and, consequently, the punishment, of the board. There is every week a visiting committee of three guardians appointed, by the board in rotation, whose duty it is to inspect the provisions, to examine every room, and to hear the complaints of the inmates. Our indefatigable chairman, Captain Campbell, visits the house several times every week; and those who know him will not suppose that he would tolerate for a moment, anything bordering upon cruelty. To Mr. Gore, an eminent surgeon, of Bath, for his daily attendance, the board gives 100l. a-year; the infirmary is detached from the rest of the workhouse, and in it the sick have every accommodation, and whatever diet Mr. Gore may prescribe. There is another powerful check upon cruelty, in the almost daily attendance of our excellent chaplain, the Rev. Whitwell Elwin, whose heart is in his work; and who, to great kindness of manner, adds great judgment in his intercourse with the inmates. The chaplain's salary is 90l. a-year.

And what was the state of things formerly? At the commencement of the Union, I went with a number of guardians to Walcot workhouse; and on enquiring for the children, we were conducted to a room in which about thirty little wretches stood in a class; and a man holding in his hand a large whip, standing in the midst. He was a pauper with only one eye. Seeing no books or slates, we at first doubted whether this was

the school-room, and the following dialogue was the result :-

Are you the schoolmaster ?-Yes.

What do you teach the children?-Nothing.

What do they learn from any other person?—Nothing.

How then are they employed?—They do nothing.

What then do you do?—I keep them quiet.

A gentleman who was formerly an overseer of that great parish, containing 26,000 inhabitants, informs me that it was the constant practice to flog the children; that he has frequently seen it, and has sometimes been requested to flog them himself. In another workhouse in Bath, that of Lyncombe and Widcombe, we found things still worse. All the inmates were in one room, and in this room washing and cooking were going on. There, in the midst of the steam and smoke, were the old and the young; the men and the women; the boys and the girls; the idiot and the sane.

The men appeared as though they were never shaved; and all of them as though they were never washed. The dirty ragged inmates were a disgrace to Bath; yet there was no outcry! There were privileges which paupers value more than cleanliness and order: there was a skittle ground in which they played for beer; and as the kindness of the beer-seller, though very great, does not extend to the giving of his beer, there was no objection to their going into the streets to beg; and this

was liberty!

5.-" No more shutting them up in cold fireless outhouses in winter!"-I cannot say what may be done in Hampshire, but I am convinced that during the five years' existence of the Bath Union, there has been less punishment than might have been witnessed in a few weeks under the old poor laws. There always will be unruly persons amongst paupers; but when they were allowed to beg and to get drunk, they were infinitely more unruly. If a desperate man disturbs all around him, there must be some power vested in the master to keep him quiet; and for a serious offence he may be taken before the magistrates and sent to prison; but there are cases in which it is sufficient punishment to keep back for a few days the meat and soup, giving instead thereof only bread and potatoes; or if this will not do, the law has invested the master with the power of putting the offender in solitary confinement for a day; which with us is never done except in day-light, and seldom for more than five or six hours. Since a master to whom is committed the good order of more than six hundred inmates must have some authority, the great security for his not abusing it is to make a careful choice of a man fit for the office. To Mr. and Mrs. Hagger, the guardians give 100l. a-year, with board for themselves and one son; although dissenters, they were elected by a board containing three clergymen, and a majority of churchmen, in consequence of their high testimonials; amongst which were letters from the Rev. W. Jay, of Argyle Chapel, and from Bishop Baines, of Prior Park.

But what was the state of things formerly? In each of the two Bath workhouses, to which I have already alluded, there was a lock-up house, with a stone floor and straw to lie upon, and without a fire or fire-place. This lock-up house was used by night and by day by the magistrates for the temporary confinement of felons; and it was also used for the imprisonment of unruly inmates. On our visit to the workhouse at Widcombe, we saw through the iron grating a man who was at that very time confined therein; and I recollect that it was too dark a place to enable me clearly to distinguish his features. The overseer of Walcot, already alluded to, also informed me that it was a thing of common occurrence to lock-up ill-behaved inmates, not only during the day, but during the whole of the following night, without fire and with only straw spread over the stone floor. How is it that the pet word of modern hypocrisy, "BASTILE," was never then used? The further statement of the same overseer will explain the reason. The inmates, he says, were allowed at certain times to go out into the town, and he adds, that "they invariably came home drunk." The governor of that workhouse gave grand suppers at his house, at the cost of the rate-payers, and when the closer inspection of a Poor Law Commission rendered it necessary to balance his accounts, he ran off to America with 800l. of the poor rates unaccounted for.

6.-" No more separation of man and wife."-Some men speak of the classification of the inmates of a workhouse as though the temporary separation of man and wife were equivalent to a divorce; and they charge the guardians with putting asunder those whom God hath joined; yet, in the very few instances in which this separation does take place, it is no more unjust than in the case of the man who, by the necessities of business, takes long voyages and sojourns in distant countries, without the solace of his wife and children around him. Is it pretended that a married couple who say they cannot support themselves should live and bring up children at the public cost, free of rent, and with liberty to go in and out of the house? Carry out the principle of the "friends to the poor," and every inmate of a workhouse ought to have a house and an income provided; every poor person in the kingdom ought to have relief, and the rates, instead of amounting to eight millions, would then exceed one hundred millions in the year. In every well-regulated workhouse under the old system there was an entire separation of the sexes. The Salpetrière, near Paris, contains 5000 women, of whom, when I visited it, there were 600 sick, 800 insane, and the rest, chiefly above seventy years of age; but there were no men. At the Bicetre, near Paris, there were 4000 men, insane, aged, and criminals; but there were no women. In some workhouses in England the separation of the sexes was at the request of all the women. It is true that there were some workhouses in which they lived together, but this was invariably attended with the most disorderly consequences. In one workhouse the governor stated that out of thirty married couples, there was not one man then living with his own wife, and that some of them had exchanged wives two or three times since their entrance. Whilst these things took place, and whilst several millions sterling were annually taken from the rate-payers and spent in strong drink, there was no outcry raised by the self-styled "friends of the poor;" but when a remedy has been provided for these evils, when guardians who administer the law derive no emolument therefrom, but gratuitously devote their time and energies to the service of the rate-payers whom they represent, and when the cost of the Poor Law Commission, with its clerks and assistant-commissioners, amounts only to 50,000l., or a hundredth part of the previous waste, then is this machinery, so essential to parochial reform, described as useless extravagance, and an enormous burthen to the rate-payers!

III.—What effect has this outcry produced?—It has discouraged the guardians, and in some boards has gained for spurious benevolence complete triumph over sound principle; and, by causing the retirement of those who sought their country's good, and the election of those who sought their own popularity at the country's expense, it has placed in a majority the enemies of the law. It has consequently stopped the work of parochial reform, and has caused pauperism and poor rates again to increase:—in the whole kingdom from four millions and a half to probably five millions and a half; and in the Bath Union as follows:—

Expenditure for the for the general and the following three for the general and the following three for the form of the form o

The more intelligent inhabitants of Bath having ceased to believe the

tales by which designing persons had practised upon their credulity; and the chairman, Capt. Campbell, having acted with firmness and discretion; the expenditure up to March 25, 1841, will probably not exceed 13,600l. It is true that the higher price of bread has tended to promote this increase; the prices of the 4lb. loaf for the years ending March 1837 to 1841, inclusive, having been $5\frac{3}{4}d$., $6\frac{1}{2}d$., $7\frac{1}{2}d$., 8d., $8\frac{1}{4}d$. respectively; and this difference amounting to $2\frac{1}{2}d$. a loaf, added, for 900 loaves, nearly 10l. a-week, or 500l. a-year to the workhouse expenditure. It is also true that the increased price of provisions changed some of the poorest ratepayers into rate-receivers; yet, notwithstanding these things, if there had not been the outcry, the expenditure of the Union, after the first year, would never have exceeded 10,000l. a-year. And if those persons who seek out cases of destitution, instead of urging the poor to apply for parochial relief, would, in future, relieve out of their own pockets the destitution which they discover, and which they in part create, the expenditure of the Union might with safety be diminished by 1000l. ayear, for each of the next five years. In some places the outcry has impeded the operation of the law to a much greater extent than in the Bath Union. The poor rates of many parishes have been greatly increased, and in some doubled, under the new law. In St. Mary's parish. in the town of Nottingham, in which parochial relief had been largely resorted to for the removal of temporary distress, and in which, as elsewhere, the remedy had been worse than the disease, this increase is very remarkable. In 1764 the poor rates of that parish were 380l., or 7d. a-head upon the population; in 1838 they were 19,180l., or 8s. $10\frac{1}{2}d$. upon the increased population. The following statement was published by W. Roworth, esq., during his mayoralty:

Expenses of St. Mary's Parish, Nottingham. For three years since the Union $\pounds 40,023$ 2 11 For three years before the Union $\pounds 25,458$ 0 0

Being an increase in three years since the Union of ...£14,565 2 11 or 57\frac{1}{2} per cent.

In the first week in March the report to the Board was that there were 625 in the house; OUT-OF-DOOR RELIEF FOR THE WEEK, £112!

WAGES, £32! and PENSIONERS, £40!

This outcry has also paralysed the commissioners; and, under the pretence of too much power, has rendered them almost powerless. It has prevented the formation of Unions in the North of England; thus continuing to interested parties the power of inflicting injuries upon the community. It has given to beggars and vagrants the plausible excuse of Poor-Law cruelty and Bastile imprisonment. It has permitted hundreds to enjoy in idleness the comforts of a Union Workhouse, who, but for the morbid state of public opinion, would have been sent out to provide for themselves. It has increased the number of inmates in the Bath Union Workhouse from 330, in the first year, to 650, in the present year; the increase being chiefly in those persons who would rather live n a workhouse or a gaol,* at the public cost, than endure the toil and lardships of an independent labourer. It has caused thirty-five prosti-

^{*} The governor of the gaol at Shepton Møllet informed me that many of the men whom I saw in the tread-mill, would rather submit to that work with prison diet, than to the harder work of common labourer.

Each of the following Pamphlets of the Rev. T. Spencer, weighs, with an envelope, less than half an ounce.

1THE PILLARS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND Price Twopene.
2THE PRAYER BOOK OPPOSED TO THE CORN LAWS. Price Twopence.
3.—RELIGION AND POLITICS Price Twopence.
4-PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS ON CHURCH REFORM Price Twopence.
5.—REMARKS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION Price Twopence.
6.—CLERICAL CONFORMITY AND CHURCH PROPERTY Price Twopence.
7THE CORN LAWS AND THE NATIONAL DEBT Price Twopence.
8.—THE OUTCRY AGAINST THE NEW FOOR LAW Price Twopence.
9.—THE NEW POOR LAW, ITS EVILS & THEIR REMEDIES Price Twopence.
10MINISTERS OF RELIGION, AND THE NEW POOR LAW. Price Twopence.

THE NEW POOR LAW:

ITS EVILS, AND THEIR REMEDIES.

PAUPERISM has been described by foreigners as the plague-spot of England. It fosters discontent amongst the working-classes; it taxes the honest man, whom no difficulties whatever would induce to ask for parochial relief; and it favours the idle and improvident, only by rendering that misery permanent which might otherwise have been but temporary. It creates a bad feeling between the rich and the poor; and there never will be peace at home until it is annihilated. We must distinguish between panperism and poverty. The poor of whom we read in scripture are meek and lowly in spirit, as well as humble in station; they are rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom; and when we read of Lazarus, covered with sores, lying at the rich man's gate, thankful if he could obtain the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table; of the blind beggar, who sat by the way-side begging; of the man who fell among thieves, whom the good Samaritan set upon his own heast; or of the lame man, who attracted the attention of Peter and John; or when we are told that pure religion consists in visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction; we read of persons who command our sympathies, and on whom our own kindness, at our own cost, is well bestowed. Pauperism, on the contrary, under the garb of poverty, trades in the outward signs of destitution; and, with an indolence which shuns hard work-with an insolence that scorns restraint-and with a self-indulgence which knows no limits-it demands its tea and coffee, its beer and gin, its tobacco and snuff; and, to obtain these, which it pleases to call the necessaries of life, but from which thousands of Ratepayers altogether abstain, it breaks the tenth commandment by coveting other men's goods; and the eighth commandment, by obtaining, under false pretences, other men's property. It asks not relief as a boon, but claims it as a right; and, instead of thanks for it, when obtained, it rails at the donors because it is not more. It is never satisfied: but he that receives most, rails most; and the incendiary fires which preceded the passing of the New Poor Law, were in those parts of England in which the largest sums were given as parish pay, and in which the labouring classes were most accustomed to look to the parish pay-table for their maintenance. And, although the People's Charter was a lawful object of desire, and contained many provisions which reflected great credit on those sober and industrious persons who lawfully sought it, yet when it came in contact with pauperism, Chartism assumed a tyrannical bearing, and breathed a turbulent spirit.

A French writer, when treating of the origin and progress of this evil in ancient and modern countries, thus speaks of England:—"It is the country of pauperism. Let us examine this plague in all its nakedness; and let us discover, among the horrors we may see, the laws which gave it birth. Almost all the labourers sell their goods to arrive at the height of misery, and to be inscribed on the list of paupers; and, from the time they become part of this privileged class, they no longer need activity, economy, and forethought The parish must supply their wants; and, as they are certain of obtaining relief, they deliver themselves alto-

gether to idleness and debauch. If the parish do not furnish them with every thing they have need of with generosity, they complain loudly, and make threats. From the time an individual is inscribed on the list of paupers, he can hardly be effaced from it, provided that he takes care to keep himself in a state of complete destitution and misery. Thus to recompense idleness, prodigality, and debauch! What frightful perturbation cannot such a system carry into social order! and what government can resist such dangerous measures! The workmen thus pensioned on the parish do not try to procure work; for their existence is always assured to them. If one gives them work, they occupy themselves in it with regret; they do it ill; and do less by half than an ordinary workman could. Does their master wish to excite them to work by his discourse, they accuse him of being hard-hearted, and of not loving the poor. Wearied with their idleness, does he wish to dismiss them? Away they go gaily, and consume, in sloth and drunkenness, the relief which they are certain of getting. In order to diminish the expenses of the parish, the farmers are obliged to give them work; and, in spite of all their faults, no other workmen are employed until these lazy and debauched fellows are provided for. These mendicants, feeling their strength and their great number, are of rare insolence and andacity; bad luck to him who would dare to propose a reduction of the poor-rates! He would be hooted in the streets, scoffed at, beaten; his property would be devastated during the night. Often would these wretches even burn the houses of their enemies; and, as they know the terror which such crimes produce, the word BURN is always in their mouths, and imposes silence on any who might wish to diminish the relief which is given to them. As the number of crimes increases in nearly the same proportion as that of mendicants, there are more criminals punished in England than in any other country in the world. This recompense given to men, without foresight and good conduct, had spread among them a taste for strong liquors. Men, women, and children are all eager for gin, brandy, and whiskey. In vain are associations formed for the destruction of this pernicious habit. Of what avail are separate efforts against institutions so rich, so extended, and so immoral as that of the tax for the poor? It is especially after receiving their pay for the week, that the families of mendicants betake themselves to the ale-houses, where old men and children—everybody gets drunk; and thus it happens that a few minutes after they have received this abundant pay, they have no resources, and they devote the rest of the week to petty thefts, or to suffering. It is in these ale-houses, and in the houses of prostitution, that all the plans of poaching, of robbery, and of murder, are decided. In these places, too, are formed pauper clubs, to which each carries his grievances, and at which they designate, by infamous names, the economical administrator who would wish to reduce the pay. They seek the means of frightening or punishing him; and it was from these clubs that in general the numerous incendiaries proceeded, who, for some years, reduced the agriculture of England. That which proves that it is to the fatal system of the poor-rates that England owes the enormous mass of four millions of mendicants, who consume them, is, that in the United States the same law has produced similar results. In the state of New York, in the year 1815, the poor cost 245,000 dollars; and in 1822, they cost 470,000; that is to say, this expense doubled in seven

years. In 1800, the poor of New Hampshire cost 170,000 dollars; and in 1820, they cost 800,000; or nearly five times as much. From these facts the teachers of public law may conclude, that of all establishments that have been formed up to the present day, that of the Poor Rate is the most vicious, and the most hurtful to man; that it completely troubles social order; and that, like the too numerous hospitals of Constantine, instead of being useful to men, it has caused great evils to society. Let us remember, that idleness is the most powerful of all our passions, as Monsieur de la Rochefoucauld says; it is also the most hurtful to man; and in desiring to help misfortune, it is necessary to beware, lest we encourage idleness. The difficult—I might almost say, the alarming situation in which England is at present, has drawn the attention of almost all nations."

The last country in the world in which we should expect the grim spectre of pauperism to shew itself, is the United States of America; yet we find American writers full of alarm at the increasing evil; and in them the same language of commiseration for England as that expressed in the foregoing extract, written in Paris in the year 1837. In the Report, laid before the British Parliament by the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Poor Laws, we find the following statements:—" By the report of the Secretary of the State of New York,

February 29, 1824, it appears that

In the State of New York, one person in 220 is a pauper.

,, Massachussets, one in 68
,, Connecticut, one in 150
,, New Hampshire, one in 100
,, Delaware, one in 227
,,

According to the relative pauperism of New Hampshire, a population equal to that of the Bath Union would contain 640 paupers and according

to that of Massachussets, nearly 1000 paupers.

"In a report made in the year 1825, from a committee on the Poor Laws, which sat in Philadelphia, I find the following passages expressive of the conclusions of the committee:- 'Upon the whole, your committee are convinced that the effect of a compulsory provision for the poor is to increase the number of paupers; to entail an oppressive burden on the country; to promote idleness and licentiousness among the labouring classes; and to afford relief to the profligate and abandoned. The Poor Laws have done away the necessity for private charity; and they have been every way injurious to the morals, comfort, and independence, of that class for whose benefit they were intended. No permanent alleviation of the evils of the system can rationally be expected from the erection of poor houses, or from any similar expedient. The only hope of effectual relief is the speedy and total abolition of the system itself. In this country, where there are no privileged orders, where all classes have equal rights and where our population is far from being so dense as to press upon the means of subsistance, it is indeed alarming to find the increase of pauperism progressing with such rapidity. We are fast treading in the footsteps of England."

There are persons actively endeavouring to persuade the legislature to introduce our English Poor Law into Scotland; and they urge in their own justification the terrible destitution of the poor at Glasgow; forgetting that the miserable and squalid wretches at Glasgow, are the victims of whiskey; and that in Liverpool, which is under the

English Poor Law, there are thirty thousand persons equally wretched dwelling in cellars, and that in Manchester may be seen similar wretchedness. If any person will walk up and down Deansgate-street, in Manchester, from ten to twelve o'clock on a Saturday night and see the endless gin shops, all thronged with men, women, and children, they will perceive that parish pay cannot administer a remedy for poverty so induced, but that it is more likely to add fuel to the flame. A Poor Law has been provided for Ireland, and, at present, of a nature far superior to that of England; but, the poverty of Ireland arose from the dominion of an evil spirit, over which Poor Laws have no control. Father Mathew has dared to attack the fiend, and has, under the guidance of Providence, brought five millions of persons to conspire against his pestiferous influence; and when the people of Ireland become sober, there will be no need of a poor law. The sum spent in this kingdom in intoxicating liquors is fifty millions a year; and the cost of prosecutions for crime, the support of prisoners and convicts, loss of time, and other evils caused by drunkenness, amount, perhaps, to a sum not much less than fifty millions more; whereas the poor rates, at the highest, did not exceed eight millions a year. According to the homely proverb "A penny saved is a penny gained," fifty millions saved by sobriety, would be as fifty millions given to the poor, and this, with other savings consequent upon a sober life, would be a sum given to the working classes, ten times as great as the greatest

amount of poor rates.

As I have brought testimonics from France and from the United States, I will introduce an important one from Ireland. In a letter received from that enlightened patriot, Dr. James Henry, of Dublin, he says, "I have read with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, 'The Outcry against the New Poor Law,' and am heartily rejoiced to see so able an exposition of my own views on the subject laid before the public. So far as you have gone we agree entirely, but I go infinitely further; and I think if you consider your own principles you cannot but go further also. You disapprove of the principle that it is right to take by force the honestly acquired property of one man in order to give it to another. This is the principle of all Poor Laws; of the New as well as of the Old. The only difference is that the New Poor Law takes less than the Old; but they both take one man's property in order to give it to another, and are, therefore) essentially and radically unjust in principle—oppressive and destructive in practice. I have often looked on with astonishment when I saw men, whom I believed to be philosophers, benevolent, patriotic, and christian, not merely becoming, but canvassing to become what is called guardians of the poor-administrators of that unphilosophical, unbenevolent, and unchristian law, which forcibly takes from one man his honestly acquired property and bestows it on another; which discourages independent industry and honest exertion, and holds out a premium to idleness, improvidence, and panperism. This is the principle of all poor laws; and it is against this false and ruinous principle that the whole artillery of truth should be directed. We have had Poor Laws in this country on your amended system only for about twelve months, and their evil effects, even upon the poor themselves, are sufficiently manifest. I had hoped your Poor Law Amendment Act was only the first step of an enlightened government to abolish the whole system, and my hopes were cruelly disappointed when I found that the system so

chartism as the genuine fruits of Poor Laws—of the lesson which has practically taught that one man has a right to demand for his own use the honestly acquired property of his neighbour. The fault lies with the people—the whole nation collectively. The Parliament represents the nation—and the Parliament makes bad laws only because the nation imperatively demands them. We must reform the nation, that is, increase the mass of knowledge before we can have good laws. As long as the people are totally ignorant of the first principles of morality—of the first principles of political economy—and of the first principles of general philosophy, you cannot, by any possibility, have good laws—knowledge

is the only remedy." To effect the gradual extinction of pauperism was the object of the New Poor Law: and those persons who expected this end to be accomplished without clamour knew little of human nature. Priestly domination could not be attacked by Christ himself, without uproar, persecution, and death; heathen idolatry could not be encountered by the Apostles without similar results. Wherever there has been an outcry some good has been done, and in general the greater the outcry the greater the good and the more speedy the restoration to tranquillity. The New Poor Law was intended to enforce economy and uniformity of management; 'the relief of the poor was to be placed under the control of the representatives of the rate-payers, acting under the judicious rules of a central board; and it was anticipated that by these means security would be given against the return of parochial abuses. In some places these ends have been answered; in others no good whatever has been done; there are instances in which pauperism and expenditure have considerably increased; and, some in which, after a partial reform had been effected, things are fast returning to their former condition. There is again a tendency to obtain for workhouses a good name by providing for the inmates a greater share of the necessaries and comforts of life, than can be procured by the independent labourer; hence the number of inmates increase. In the Bath Union Workhouse, the average number of inmates during the last quarter has been 633—in the first year of the Union there were sometimes only 330. This increase consists chiefly of disorderly persons, prostitutes, and lying-in women; and of a new class denominated tramps, 65 of whom have thought fit to take up their temporary abode therein during the last quarter. The applications for out of door relief are of a more unreasonable nature than formerly, and many of them such as would not have been entertained for a moment by a respectable vestry; and, although in the "Outcry, &c.," I asserted, on the authority of the clerk, that our fifth year's expenditure would be less than the fourth, I am sorry to find that his expectations have been disappointed; the following being the steady increase of our expenditure:

In the year ending,

March 25, 1837 | March 25, 1838 | March 25, 1839 | March 25, 1840 | March 25, 1841 £11,520 | £12,336 | £13,703 | £14,180 | £14,519

A few years more would bring back the expenditure to its former average of £19,928. In the Clutton Union contiguous to the Bath Union, the expenditure is considerably greater than the former average. The following is taken from their last quarterly abstract:

Expenditure for | March 25,1838 | March 25,1839 | March 25,1840 | March 25,1841 the year ending | £8159 | £8995 | £9368 | £10,790

Whereas, the average of the three years before the Union was only £9172.

Whilst, therefore, we rejoice at the partial success of the New Poor Law, there is much reason to regret its partial failure; and there is reason to fear that unless this retrograde movement be speedily stopped, the country will soon find itself in its former condition. It is, therefore, a useful service to point out some of the causes of this partial failure,

and to suggest some REMEDIAL MEASURES. I. The causes of this partial failure are—the imperfections in the law itself; the want of fidelity in the ministers of religion; the want of bold and decided measures on the part of the Government and the Poor Law Commissioners; and the improper conduct of certain Magistrates. 1. Imperfections in the law itself .- It professed to remove parochial relief from the Overseers and Magistrates to the representatives of the Ratepayers; but it destroyed the principle of representation by the admission of ex-officio Guardians, who in some Unions are more numerous than the elected Guardians, and, in all Unions, sufficiently numerous to determine any question on which the Board is divided in opinion. To this Board, consisting of elected and ex-officio Guardians, it professed to give the entire management of pauper cases; but it gave power to any two Magistrates in certain cases to reverse the decision of the Board. It gave to every Ratepayer a right to nominate a candidate and to vote at the election; but it confined his choice within narrow limits by a property qualification, in the Bath Union, of occupying premises the rent of which is not less than £35 a-year. This shut out many competent persons of great intelligence but of little wealth, whilst it would admit a farmer who could neither read nor write; and did admit many maltsters, brewers, and innkeepers, whose premises were extensive, but whose influence at the Board is by no means salutary in the decision of such applications as are caused by habits of intoxication. It declared that the election of Guardians should be annual; but it gave no means to the Ratepayers to ascertain the manner in which their representatives were conducting themselves, as the Guardians, by order of the Commissioners, sat with closed doors, although the Board of the Bath Union has frequently petitioned them to allow the admission of strangers. Hence it is that Guardians who have scarcely ever attended, or who, when present, have only distinguished themselves by the utterance of principles most unsound, have been elected again year after year. It professed to place the affairs of the parishioners in their own hands, and yet by introducing the system of voting by proxy, it allowed the votes of the resident inhabitants to be swamped by the votes of the non residents. One gentleman of Bath having obtained a sufficient number of proxies to set all the resident ratepayers at defiance, returns both the Guardians for one of the parishes of Bath. The continuance of the law of settlement has left each parish with only its own Guardian or Guardians to defend its interest, whilst all the rest of the Guardians have a direct interest adverse to it, since the more pauperised any parish is, the more it pays to the establishment charges, and consequently the less remains to be paid by other parishes.

2. The want of fidelity in the Ministers of religion.—This being the source of spurious charity as well as of spurious religion, I may be ex-

cused if I so far magnify my office as to deem the subject of sufficient

importance for a separate publication.

3. The want of decided measures on the part of the Government and the Poor Law Commissioners .- Great obstacles were thrown in their way by political opponents, whose names ought to be handed down to posterity as traitors alike to their country, their Sovereign, and their God. In the midst of this unworthy treatment there has been much that was excellent in the proceedings of the Government and the Commissioners, but there has not been that bold and decided stand, there have not been those prompt and energetic acts, which strike terror into unprincipled enemies, and which inspire confidence in upright friends. They have done good service to their country; but if there had been less of delay, concession and compromise visible in their proceedings, they would have deserved high honour and exalted praise. There was a tide in public affairs which, if taken at the full, would have led to victory: but that tide was permitted to subside. The Poor Law Amendment Act was hailed by all true lovers of their country, and was especially valued for those very parts which, by ignorant and interested men, have been most condemned. Bad men were filled with consternation, for the source of their gain was gone. Millions were either subsisting or wishing to subsist upon the poor rates; and he who knew what was in man declared that "where the carcase is there will the eagles be gathered together." The passing of the New Poor Law was like the discharge of a cannon into the midst of these eagles, and they were glad to escape with their lives, without any hope of returning to their prey. That was the time for action. Unions should have been formed and simultaneously declared in all parts of the kingdom; Guardians should have been elected-salaried officers chosen-and smaller matters of detail, such as taking the averages and determining the proportions to be paid by the respective parishes, should have been settled afterwards. And to prevent any place from refusing to elect Guardians, a day should have been fixed beyond which all power to pay the poor or to collect the rates should depart from overseers and vestries. Opponents to the law would then have had no direct interest in preventing the formation of the union, and they would not have dared, as the crisis approached, to permit a multitude of paupers to come for relief when there were no funds out of which to relieve them. If the land had been thus simultaneously covered with Unions, as it was under the Reform Bill by electoral districts, and under the Municipal Amendment Act, by newly elected councils, such a march would have been gained upon the adversary as to render his future efforts useless. In every district there would have been Guardians, implicated in the management, ready to enforce, explain, and defend the law; the best of the paid officers of the former system would have been selected for the new; there would have been clerks, relieving officers, masters of workhouses, medical officers and chaplains disposed to withstand and expose the attempts which former officers might make to bring odium upon the law. The superior regulations of a Board Room, the better arrangements of a Union Workhouse, would have been open to the observation of all, and would soon have gained the approbation of all. Unhappily, however, for pauperised England, in the greater part of the land years were allowed to elapse before the new system was introduced, and in some parts

Unions are not yet formed. When the carcase of the poor rates remained long without protection the courage of the eagles revived. Profligate paupers, paid officers, and those wholesale manufacturers of paupers, the keepers of gin palaces and beer shops, saw some chance of still deriving a rich but unjust profit out of the hard earnings of the Ratepayers; they began to fortify their position and to prepare for battle. They formed an "Anti Poor Law Society" with the impracticable Earl Stanhope at its head; and with hired agents and a hired press they lifted up the standard of pauperism, and proceeded to agitate the kingdom. It was then that villainy again dared to lift up its head, and that the hands of patriotism began to hang down. It was then that able bodied paupers with full wages resumed their insolence, threw down the tools of labour, and demanded the repeal of the New Poor Law and the destruction of the Union Bastiles! It was then that petty attornies and low medical men who had nothing else to do, wrought with a thousand horse power to regain their profitable charges and long bills. Every night they prepared a fresh supply of "Horrible Cruelties" for the papers of the following day; every morning the multitudes of gin drinking panpers of the metropolis, whose appetite for wholesome food was gone, opened their mouth wide to swallow the prepared repast. Paid Magistrates of the metropolis pandered to their vitiated taste; and when the eyes of all were upon the Government to see whether they would dismiss them, the opportunity of vindicating the majesty of the law was lost, and these worst of criminals were retained in the seat of justice.

It is not for me to say whether the delay on the part of the Government was intentional; and whether it had reference to the election of a new Parliament, which was then not far distant; but it is certain that when the Ministers increased the number of Assistant Commissioners from nine to twenty-three, it was then too late to undo the mischief caused by the previous delay. The Anti-Poor-Law party had possession of the large manufacturing towns and of the metropolis itself; and they had succeeded in filling the minds of the people with dismal apprehensions. Should there be another similar conflict between a good law and national corruption, it may be well to remember, that decided steps leave no time for the getting up of an outcry; but that hesitation and delay court opposition. It would be well, too, to adopt some of the means used by voluntary societies, such as Temperance Societies, and Anti-Slavery Societies, which, when they would put down drunkenness and slavery, send forth able lecturers, hold public discussions, establish newspapers, and circulate tracts. Had there been a voluntary society for the extinction of panperism, these measures would have been adopted, and, after some uproar, truth would have prevailed. After the manner of the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," the "Anti-Corn-Law Circular," and the "Temperance Journal," there would have been an "Anti-Panperism Gazette," and the "New Poor Law Advocate," containing all kinds of intelligence connected with the subject, and exposing the interested attempts made to excite the country against it. They would not have been satisfied with issuing large annual reports, which few of the rich, none of the working classes, and not one in ten of the Guardians themselves ever read; but through their officers they would have placed in the hands of every ratepayer a brief statement of facts and arguments. Efforts of this description have been left to the opponents of the law. The

expense attending the Parliamentary Committees would have sufficed to circulate information through every parish; which committees were attended not only with expense, but with loss of time taking the Poor Law Commissioners from their proper work to prepare evidence to rebut the charges brought against them. They also afforded a triumph to agitators, and a proof of their successful efforts in thus arresting the progress of the law. Every legislator, who counted the costs, must have anticipated an outcry, inasmuch as, to the corrupt portion of the community, the reform of abuse was like cutting off a right hand, or plucking out a right eye; and yet when the cry was made the legislature appeared to be taken by surprise; and, as though they suspected that the Poor Law Commissioners had been guilty of an abuse of power, they appointed committees to investigate their conduct; and in consequence of defective arrangements for enlightening the understandings of the multitudes, the accusations made against them found their way into every corner of the land, whilst

the explanations were confined to a few.

The improper conduct of certain Magistrates. - Whatever might be the private opinions of magistrates, the nation had a right to expect them to do all in their power to support a law, which, by large majorities, the legislature had passed; whereas, many of them did all they could to bring the law into disrepute. They held a court of discontent; reheard the applications which had been rejected by the representatives of the rate-payers; gave money, out of the funds placed at their disposal, to men who were witnesses in their own case; and on whose ex-parte statements they virtually passed censure upon the board; and invited all whom the decisions of the hoard might not please, to come to them for redress. Instead of promoting the public peace, they held a magnet over every filthy pool of pauperism in order to draw from thence materials for popular clamour. An upright magistrate is a general benefactor, and by strictly administering justice, he teaches to the ignorant the difference between right and wrong and essentially promotes national education; but, some of the magistrates of Bath were so eager to lay aside the irksome task of being a terror to evil doers, and so ambitious to come forth as champions of the poor, that, even before the board took charge of pauper cases, and before they had relieved or rejected a single individual, one of them informed me that he had heard grievous complaints against the severity of the Board of Guardians, and that many cases of cruelty had been brought before him. I replied that I was delighted to hear it, as it distinctly shewed the determination of some men to complain of the law and of others to listen to their complaints; for that if stories of cruelty could be told against us before we had done any thing more than to elect our officers, to divide the union into districts, and to make other preliminary arrangements, what might be expected when the union should be in full operation! When the board did commence its duties, that same magistrate was perpetually interfering, both by letters to the relieving officer, and to the board, and also by sending policemen to the board with applicants who had been previously examined and rejected; such for instance as able-bodied men, women with illegitimate children, none of which were included in the 27th section of the law. Anonymous paragraphs also appeared in a local paper, which, though written in the editorial style and in the plural number, I found, from the editor, were actually written by this magistrate, of one of which, intended to incite the public indignation

against the board, the editor delivered to me the manuscript copy. Had the object of these magistrates been to render the poor dissatisfied; had they desired to obtain popularity at the expense of the Guardians; had they, through lack of business, or, through lack of fees to officers, desired to bring parochial affairs again under their own control, they could not have taken a more appropriate course.

II. Remedial Measures.—Pauperism is too deeply rooted to be instantly abolished. The thing required is that, under the New Poor Law, there shall be no standing still, no retrograde movement, but that every step shall be in advance. During the next five years such measures should be adopted as may prepare the way for permanent arrangements of a more salutary nature; amongst which I would suggest the following:

1.-Let all the Parishes of a Union be made one for the purpose of rating and settlement .- This would give to every Guardian an equal interest in the good management of every Parish in the Union. It would prevent the disputed settlements which now occur between the Parishes of the same Union. It would prevent the vagrant charges and expenses for criminal prosecutions from falling upon the parish in which the Workhouse is situated; and it would prevent the rest of the parishes from paying poor rates to that parish. In the Bath Union the various parishes pay to the parish of Widcombe nearly £40 a-year in poor rates, merely because the Workhouse has been erected in it. It would give greater uniformity of management, and therefore greater contentment. The following example, taken from the Parliamentary report, is an apt illustration:-The parish of Lambeth contains a population of 87,000, and the administration of relief was managed by one establishment, and the money raised was collected in one rate; whereas the city of London within the walls, comprehending a population of only 55,000, contained 96 parishes, each managing its own poor, with separate officers and separate rates; and although many of these city parishes are extremely wealthy, and having few poor, yet in the year 1831 they expended £64,000 for the relief of the poor; whereas the parish of Lambeth, with 32,000 more inhabitants, and many very poor people, expended during the same year only £37,000. In the city parishes the poor rates amounted to £1 3s. 3d. per head upon the whole population, whereas in Lambeth, in which more poor persons were relieved than in the city parishes, the rates were only 8s. 6d. a head. Now if Lambeth had been divided into 96 parishes, there would have been 96 imperfect establishments instead of one; 96 sources of peculation instead of one; 96 sets of officers to be imposed upon instead of one; 96 sources of litigation and disputed settlements instead of one; and lastly, it might have been added, 96 sources of outery against the removal of parochial abuses instead of one. Who can tell how many of the endless stories of Poor Law cruelties have come from these 96 nests of corruption, with their paid overseers, vestry clerks, parish lawyers, parish jobbers, and parish dealers in beer and Even in the new system there has been a needless multiplication of districts for relieving and medical officers. The Bath Union, containing a population of 64,000 inhabitants, is better managed with two relieving officers than when there were three; yet in some ill managed Unions, containing less than half its population, there are five or six relieving officers, each depending for his income upon the continuance of out of door relief.

2.—Let every person that becomes permanently chargeable to a parish be considered settled in the place in which he has usually resided the previous two years; and let every case of temporary sickness or accident be charged to the Union in which it takes place.—Under the present law of settlement a well regulated parish is always liable to be saddled with paupers from other places that are not well regulated. It would be more just that those parishes in which the parties have given their services or acquired their profligate habits, should be charged with their maintenance rather than a parish which has received from them no good, and which has done them no harm. When a man is removed to a distant parish he is taken from those who know his previous history to those who are in ignorance of it. It would therefore secure more suitable treatment, and he an inducement to a better education of the people, and greater attention to their sobriety and industry, if each place had to bear the consequences of the ignorance and depravity of its inhabitants.

3.-Let the work and food of a Workhouse be the same as that of the independent labourer; and the condition of the inmate rendered less desirable only by the confinement .- At present the comforts of a workhouse are twice as great as those enjoyed by a labouring man; and the work done is not one-fourth. Those who pick oakum sit down in a room with a fire, and they work as little as they please; the labour is nothing compared with that which the necessities of the industrious lead them to undergo. The master of a workhouse states that it is impossible to induce paupers to work any longer than an officer stands by to see them; and he declares that no way will accomplish this except piece-work, or giving the food when the work done is such as to earn it. Thus it is that in England every one is rewarded according to his demerits. The labourer is worse fed than the pauper, and the pauper than the felon. In a letter which I have just seen from a convict, he declares that he and his fellow convicts are well treated, and that they work only seven hours a day; and he states that most of them appear to enjoy themselves as though they were never so well off in their lives. The following table, taken from the Parliamentary Report, shows to what extent false charity prevails over justice:-

4.—Let the combinations of Unions for the training of pauper children be carried into speedy and universal operation.—No vigilance can keep the boys and girls in a workhouse from occasional intercourse with the most depraved of men and women; nor from being corrupted by their own parents; so that the instructions of the chaplain are thwarted by this pernicious influence. Moreover, the children are accustomed to see the comforts of a workhouse maintenance, and to hear of the rights and privileges of paupers, and thus they imbibe a pauper spirit; and, when placed out to earn their own living, they take offence at the least finding fault, and express their desire to return to the workhouse; and not unfrequently they run away, and apply for re-admission into the workhouse. In a district school, removed from the contamination of pauperism, children may be trained in such useful knowledge and indus-

trial occupations as will enable them to support themselves with credit; and where 400 are placed in one establishment, the combined Unions could, without additional cost, provide a well qualified master and mistress.

5.-Let power be granted to every parish that wishes it, to abolish all out of door relief .- This would give to the resident inhabitants of a parish a desirable object at which to aim, and would place a discretionary power in those who are best acquainted with the extent of pauperism amongst them. If the inhabitants, assembled for the express purpose, should be of opinion that the workhouse offered the best test in doubtful cases, and the best asylum for real destitution, they ought to be permitted to emancipate themselves from the corrupting presence of out of door paupers, the secret source of disquietude and the great impediment in the way of improvement throughout the pauperised districts of England. It is in vain to sneer at the New Poor Law for treating poverty as a crime. Pauper poverty is so depraved in its habits as to be closely allied to crime. In a diligent attention to pauper cases for seven years, I never saw the pauper who was not injured by out of door relief; I never saw the pauper applicant, who, when rejected, would not come again as long as there was any chance of gaining his object; and I never saw the pauper who did not turn to something else and prosper better, as soon as by decided conduct, he was led to see that his further coming would be useless. A short time since I reminded the Guardians of the Bath Union, that the first Chairman had expressed a strong conviction that no good could be done so long as out of door relief was continued; and that the second Chairman, after two years experience, acknowledged that he had come to the same conclusion; when, Capt. Campbell who has been the Chairman during the last two years said, "And you may add that the third Chairman is of the same opinion." There can be no peace and prosperity where paupers reside. Every pauper is a moving mass of discontent. He must not appear decent or healthy, lest his pay be diminished. His income is in proportion to his misery and wretchedness; hence he has a direct interest in disseminating alarming statements respecting the bad-But, if his pay be stopped he finds a home in the workhouse, if really helpless; and, if not, he finds work; and both he and society at large derive the benefit of his productive industry. The weekly pension is the foundation on which to build an idle life; remove this and he betakes himself to employment.

6.—Let every Parish that is not yet prepared to dispense with all out-of-door relief have the power to determine that no new eases shall be added to the list.—This would be a great protection against those Boards of Gnardians which would, if let alone, pauperise all the working-classes; and a shield against those relieving officers who have discovered that, to diminish ont-of-door relief, is to saw from a tree the branch on which they sit. I could furnish abundant proof that no parish is safe from the officious meddling of the Guardian who pretends to be the poor man's friend; and when a Board contains a majority of such characters, there

is less security for the Ratepayers than under the former system.

7.—Let the Parishes which have local acts be placed under the same law as other Parishes.—If these parishes are worse managed than those which have not been the subject of such patchwork legislation, it is due to the Ratepayers to deliver them from the bad system; and if their arrange-

ments are superior to the ordinary method of parochial management, it is due to the country at large to make such arrangements a part of the general Poor Law. At present they afford an anomalous exception to the judicious enactments of the law, and whilst the Poor Law Commissioners are made responsible for the gradual diminution of pauperism, the places under local acts remove this responsibility, and are like fortified towns in the possession of an enemy. There are 238 parishes in England under local acts, in addition to 287 parishes under Gilbert's

Union: it is from them that much of the present outery comes. 8.-Let a satisfactory, PERMANENT MEASURE, be prepared, which, at the expiration of the Poor Law Commission, may supersede the New Poor Law .- To this end, I would suggest that the titles Poor Law, Poor Law Commissioners, Poor Rates, and Guardians of the Poor be abolished. So long as poor rates exist, the less industrious will regard them as their right. Their language will still be-"What are poor rates for? Are they not for the poor? Are not we poor? What is the good of having a parish? and why should I save the parish?" With the name and the right will depart the thought and the desire; and happy will it be for him when, his mind being set at rest by the annihilation of such a fund, the poor man determines that his own right hand, with the blessing of Providence upon his industry and frugality, shall provide a maintenance in youth, and secure a provision for old age. I would then transfer the management of workhouses, and the relief of remaining destitution, from Boards of Guardians to Municipal Councils, or stipendiary Magistrates. Pauperism and crime, drunkenness and prostitution, vagrancy and theft, are so connected with each other, that it is difficult to distinguish the cases, which appertain to the Policemen and the Magistrates, from those which belong to the Relieving Officer and the Guardians. As it is more pleasing to relieve than to punish, the Magistrate frequently removes from himself the odium, and from the borough rates the expense, by handing over the offender to the relieving officer. Vagrants, mendicants, drunkards, and prostitutes were formerly punished by law; but if a vagrant travels from one end of the kingdom to the other, by obtaining food and lodging at every workhouse; if the mendicant has wit enough to beg of Guardians of the poor every week, of a relieving officer every day, and of every body else, under pretence of the cruelty of the New Poor Law, he begs under the sanction of the law. The worst of criminals thus escape the punishment of crime, and obtain the reward of pauperism, merely because the law has established two courts of appeal, and two sets of taxes. The Ratepayers have a common interest in the preservation of peace, the punishment of crime and the relief of unavoidable destitution. If the municipal boundary were extended to the limits of the Union, the villages might have the advantage of its prison and court of justice as well as workhouse; and instead of poor rate, pay their share of the borough rate. Then would one set of officers, one collection of rates, and one audit of accounts be sufficient, and justice would be done to the public with more certainty and at less cost. If the Town Council were to appoint a Committee of Management, comprising the Clerk and the Relieving Officers of the Union, the word relieving being exchanged for inspecting, and if the Committee were to report to the Council once a month or once a quarter, public business would be much better transacted than by any Board of Guardians. In the country Unions which

have not a corporate town as centre, the Board of Guardians might be continued under the name of Council for the Union or District.

In a town in France, containing 10,000 inhabitants, I ascertained from the Mayor that the relief of the destitute was placed under a committee of six members, of whom the mayor was the head; that out of the town funds the sum of $\pounds 800$ a-year was placed in their hands for the support of the poor-house, &c.; but that there was no poor-rate, nor any claim for relief as a right. I was also informed by an intelligent American, that in those parts of the United States with which he was connected, relief to the poor is provided out of the general expenses of the state, which are raised by an equitable property tax, and is given in a poor-

house, under the superintendence of a committee.

When parochial affairs are transferred to municipal bodies, the list of out-of-door paupers should be revised, not by inexperienced persons, who compare the statements of paupers with their own comforts, but by those who are acquainted with the condition of the labouring classes, and who would return such a verdict as would be returned by a jury of twelve industrious labourers. In the Bath Union, two-thirds of the out-of-door cases would disappear before such an inspection; and as the whole number is but 800, out of a population of 64,000, it would be strange if those who remained should prove an insurmountable obstacle to the introduction of a better system. These very persons, even now, partake of all the numerous charities, in addition to their parish pay. For them exist the hospitals and asylums, the societies for bread, potatoes, and soup; the funds for blankets and coals; the dispensary, the penitentiary, the strangers' friend society, the refuge for the destitute, and many others. To these societies all may give, who can afford it, and who feel disposed; whereas, for the 800 out-of-door paupers, a sum of £5,000 a-year is taken chiefly from those who cannot afford it; and this is the least evil, as it permanently degrades the recipients, and disturbs the minds of several thousands more, who, but for these 800, would never think of this source of income; and who, foreseeing the danger of sickness and want, would enter a friendly society, or lay by in a savings' bank. The claim of a right to a maintenance, together with compulsory payment of poor rates by distress-warrants, and seizure of goods, would then cease; society would return to a more healthful condition, and a better feeling would arise among all classes. At first the expenses of the workhouse and the repayment of loans should be defrayed from the borough rate; but, as soon as possible, the charitable endowments of the kingdom ought to be made available for this purpose. No man has a right to bind all posterity to the observance of his own fancies; and every good man, who has left property for charitable purposes, would rejoice to see the letter of his will set aside, and the spirit of his intention carried out by appropriating the property thus perverted to the support of the workhouses, and the removal from the ratepayers of a heavy burden.

The Poor Law Commissioners should be retained, under a better name, for the application of perverted endowments in the place of poor rates; for carrying into effect the combination of Unions for the industrial training of destitute children; and for superintending the great work of national education, under the direction of the committee of Privy

Council.

WANT OF FIDELITY

IN

MINISTERS OF RELIGION

RESPECTING THE

NEW POOR LAW.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and a Guardian of the Bath Union.

"Be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; BUT AFTER THEIR OWN LUSTS SHALL THEY HEAP TO THEMSELVES TEACHERS, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables."—2 Tim. 4 ch. 2 v.

THIRD THOUSAND.

LONDON:

JOHN GREEN, 121, NEWGATE STREET: AND SAMUEL GIBBS, 5, UNION STREET, BATH,

PRICE TWOPENCE.

1841.

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THE WANT OF FIDELITY IN MINISTERS OF RELIGION RESPECTING THE NEW POOR LAW.

Had sound principles been promulgated from every pulpit, our land would not now be distinguished amongst the nations of Europe for ignorance, pauperism, drunkenness, and crime. The business of ministers of religion is to teach men to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; and to train up a peculiar people zealous of good works. They are not to handle the word of God deceitfully, but so fairly to set forth the Scripture that it may be "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Tim., 3. 16. Instead of which, they have too generally occupied the attention of their hearers with curious questions and sectarian strife. The motives which induce such unfaithful preaching are as dishonourable as the preaching itself is mischievous. National abuses have, in every congregation, their representatives. The men who, for gain, deluge the streets with gin, and they who enrich themselves by Poor Law abuses, sit in the chief seats of the church or chapel; and. because they display the party zeal which leads men to bite and devour one another, they are recognised as members of a Christian church. In their presence it is no easy task to speak the truth. It is easier with the hundreds of prophets to flatter Ahab, than with a single Micaiah to speak that which is evil concerning him. It is easier to display eloquence, than to "reprove, rebuke, and exhort." It is easier to dwell upon those topics of religion, which interest the imagination, than to insist upon those self-denying principles which improve the heart and rectify the life. It is easier to preach about foreign missions, past prophecies with their future fulfilments, and to set forth the doctrines commonly called evangelical, than to enforce upon all men a life of labour and of self-support. Much of the religious profession of our day is united with great pride and little honesty; with little brotherly kindness, and still less of common sense. The first teachers taught repentance, but they also required "fruits meet for repentance:" they taught "faith that worketh by love and fulfilleth the law;" but they took pains to guide its working, to urge men to abound more and more in good works; and to reprove them when their faith was barren and unfruitful. Of the sermons of Christ, and of the epistles of the Apostles, a large portion is occupied in enforcing practical duties: whereas a modern sermon, as long as one of those epistles, frequently closes without one word bearing upon the duties of common life. The Apostles taught their hearers to be diligent in business; to provide things honest in the sight of all men; and to owe no man any thing. They worked as well as taught; and they followed up their good example by this universal precept, "that ye study to be quiet and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands as we commanded you : that ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of

nothing." 1 Thess., 4.11. Christ and his Apostles expounded the commandment, "Honour thy father and thy mother," as including a support of them in their old age. The Apostles did not invent excuses for him that stole or that coveted other men's goods; but they besought him to "labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." He that neglects his own trade or profession whereby he might provide for the present and future wants of his family, under the pretence of spending his time in prayer, in reading the scripture, in hearing sermons, in attending religious meetings, or in assisting religious societies, is a dishonest man; and were it not that his conscience, through false teaching, is unenlightened, he would be no better than a robber. Seeing, as he might, that his family may become chargeable to the parish or to the subscriptions of charitable persons, he picks their pockets in anticipation; and though in his secret thoughts he relies upon such future aid, he would no more dare to tell the parties beforehand that he relies upon them for his future subsistence, than the pickpocket would tell the victim on whose money he was intending to subsist. That which he calls trusting in providence is in reality tempting providence. Men that forsake the diligent application to some trade or profession, and through a fancied regard for religion require appeals to the benevolent in their own lifetime, or for their tamilies after their death, ought to be reminded that the declaration of that religion is, "If any would not work, neither should he eat." If to a congregation accustomed to the usual style of evangelical preaching, a sermon were preached upon any of these passages, entering into the same minute detail as is usual in sermons on other texts, many of the self styled spiritual part of the congregation would take offence, and declare that it was mere morality; downright legality; and that the preacher held the dangerous heresy of salvation by works! Dare these men preach the whole counsel of God? Are there not parts which they have shunned to declare? They say that they preach justification by faith: so did the Apostle Peter; yet he also enjoins, "And beside all this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity. For if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful; -but he that lacketh these things is blind and cannot see afar off." The Apostle Paul preached "repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ;" yet he thus expresses himself; "Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on to perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith towards God, of the doctrine of baptisms and of laying on of hands, and of ressurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment." Heb. 6, 1. 2. He then cautions "those who were once enlightened and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God and the powers of the world to come," to heware lest they fall away through want of diligent attention to the duties of religion, and that without fruitfulness in every good word and work, the means of grace will prove to them a curse, and not a blessing; "For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs,

meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing of God; but that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto

cursing, whose end is to be burned."

In these days the ministers of religion are chiefly known to the people by their endless appeals for money. Whether it be for new churches or chapels, for pastors at home or missionaries abroad, the perpetual cry is 'give, give;' and a stranger would naturally infer that the only thing required for the conversion of the world is a plentiful supply of gold and silver. Yet the Apostle, whose single sermon made three thousand converts, could say, "silver and gold have I none;" and another Apostle, who says, "From Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ," Rom. 15, 19; could also declare to the assembled ministers at Ephesus, "I have coveted no man's silver or gold or apparel," Acts 20, 33. It is true that he collected voluntary subscriptions for the relief of the destitute, but he asked nothing for pastoral or missionary purposes; nobly desiring that he and other preachers should present the gospel without charge, recommending it thereby to the favorable consideration of all men. Respecting his exertions for the poor, he says, "Now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints; for it hath pleased them of Macedonia to make a contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem." Whereas to the Ephesian ministers he says, "After my departure grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock." These are the "dumb dogs that cannot bark, greedy dogs that can never have enough." These are they that "run greedily after the error of Balaam for reward." In opposition to this he urges them to imitate the example which he had set, and which he thus describes, "Ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have shewed you all things, how that so LABOURING ye ought to SUP-PORT THE WEAK and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, 'it is more blessed to give than to receive.'"

How superior is this to the preaching of a barren divinity which takes so large a portion of the people's wealth for the support of ministers, whilst the poor and the weak are sent to a parish to be maintained by a compulsory tax levied upon industry! Can we wonder that gold is the object of a nation's idolatry, when ministers of religion display such eagerness to obtain it? The demand is not so much for a field of labour as for a good living; and the question is not what opportunities of usefulness present themselves, but how great is the income? and how small the duty? Nor is this peculiar to the established church. The question propounded by the ambitious dissenter is, How far is the congregation distinguished by respectability? Are they sufficiently intelligent to appreciate superior talent? Can they provide a handsome income for a popular preacher? With an income of six millions to the established church, and a large amount to dissenting ministers and religious institutions, whilst the national expenditure annually exceeds the national income; whilst the country is groaning under an overwhelming debt; whilst bankruptcy becomes painfully common, ministers of religion have ceased to hold up to men a standard of self-denying industry and of moral integrity, and have given their sanction to a system of begging and of debt. Places of worship are erected with borrowed money; and religious societies, however liberal the contribution of the public, intentionally exceed their income. And this perpetually getting into debt is used as a perpetual plea for increasing supplies from the people. With such an example set by ministers of religion, it is not surprising that debt, begging, and bankruptcy descend from the pulpit and platform to the shop of the tradesman and to the fireside of the mechanic; and that, under the pretence of trusting in providence, men become bankrupt

without shame, and defraud their creditors without remorse. There is too great a distinction made between ministers of religion and other men; and it is owing to this that so many leave the ordinary pursuits of life in order to live upon their congregations. If the desire to do good were the only inducement, if the love of ease and emolument formed no part, then would there be more persons ready to labour even without remuneration. The late Rev. C. Simeon, of Cambridge, declared to the students of the University who attended his church, that their particular business was to attend to the studies of the College; and that they had no right to read the bible when they ought to be reading mathematics. He stated, that, whenever young men relinquished these studies under the pretence of reading divinity, he had always found that their reading divinity was synonymous with idleness and ignorance. If young men are now permitted to occupy their time with divinity, to the neglect of honest pursuits, without such rebuke, it may be accounted for by another expression which I heard Mr. Simeon use—"The time was when evangelical ministers were like a river that was very narrow, but very deep; but now they are as a river that is very broad and very shallow."

A distinguished dissenting minister, Dr. Bennett, has recently delivered a series of lectures on church history, in which, when speaking of the theology of the early church, he informed his auditors that the nearer we approach to the time of the Apostles, the purer was the church; that after the second century there was a great falling off from the simplicity of the gospel: yet in the high estimate which he elsewhere gives of the study of divinity, he appears to forget his own statement that there were no divines or theologians in the first two centuries. These are his words, "Three centuries the church lived with but one biblical scholar-Origen, and not one that could be called a divine:" "theology, in its highest sense, the science of divine revelation, was to the early church unknown." Yet that early church was the purest, and was content to draw its doctrines from the scriptures alone. Again, he says, "Of election little was said before Augustine's time:" "the depravity of human nature never obtained the share of attention which its importance demanded:" "of the atonement it is afflicting to observe how sparingly and inadequately the fathers speak:" "the sacraments are scarcely, if at all, mentioned in the first century." From all which it appears that the topics of modern divinity and of pulpit oratory, were seldom alluded to when the church was purest; but that when preachers sought to be good divines rather than good men; when they turned from the glaring evils which afflict society, and devoted themselves to abstruse points of theology, the church degenerated. These are Dr. Bennett's words, "Christian morals manifestly deteriorate as we advance to Clement and Origen, and Christians are compared to the polypus, which takes the colour of anything to which it happens to adhere. Leydness and drunkenness are charged even upon the ministers of religion. On death, departed souls, the resurrection, immortality, antichrist, and the millenium, a farrago of truth and error is

uttered, though the apostolic fathers are free from this censure."

Had there been less study of divinity and more regard to the duties of common life; had religion propagated itself, not by abstract theories, but as in the first century, by the bright shining of example, and by simplicity of preaching, Christianity would not be the mere name, which it now is to most, and an object of contempt to many. If the prophet Ezekiel were to address the eloquent divines of the present day, it is to be feared that his language would be, "Woe unto the foolish prophets that follow their own spirit and have seen nothing. O, Israel! thy prophets are like the foxes of the deserts. Ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle. They have seen VANITY and lying DIVINATION." How can they be without excuse who, in the midst of a pauperised and drunken poor, and with legal dishonesty and political turpitude amongst the rich, instead of "warning every man and teaching every man" after the manner of the Apostle, are content with the applause of an admiring audience! Surely the same responsibility attaches to them as to the prophets of old if they are wanting in fidelity; "When I say unto the wicked, thou shalt surely die; and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life; the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand." When external profession takes the place of real piety; when indiscriminate almsgiving usurps the province of judicious benevolence; when indolence feeds on state pensions or on parish pay; when members of parliament, elected by bribery and intimidation, yet falsely pretending to be the representatives of the people, uphold oppressive laws; and when the degraded multitudes betake themselves to the intoxicating cup for comfort; then is the command given to every minister of religion, "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and shew the people their transgression;" then to the clergy who receive the tithes, and to the dissenting ministers who receive the pew rents from the congregations to whom they speak smooth things, and from whom they keep back all faithful admonitions, the language of scripture is, "Thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds; woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed; but ye feed not the flock. The DISEASED HAVE YE NOT STRENGTHENED, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them :my flock was scattered upon all the face of the earth, and none did search or seek after them." The prophet Jeremiah gives an unfailing test of a true teacher. "I have not sent these prophets yet they ran; I have not spoken to them yet they prophesied. But if they had stood IN MY COUNSEL and had caused my people to hear MY WORDS, THEN THEY SHOULD HAVE TURNED THEM FROM THEIR EVIL WAY AND FROM THE EVIL OF THEIR DOINGS." Jeremiah 23, 21. And as to studying the writings or preaching the doctriness of divines, "Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that

breaketh the rock in pieces? Therefore behold I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my words, every one from his neighbour." Whoever will read the memoir of Pastor Oberlin will see the Christian pastor in perfection; and in the lives of Scott and Cecil, two of the early evangelical ministers, he will find that they gave great offence to many religious professors by the practical nature of their preaching. It would be well if the successors of these men would more frequently deserve this reproach. It would be a proof of fidelity if, as in their case, the mere professors of religion should depart, because their minister enjoins them to "cease to do evil, and to learn to do well."

The shrewd John Bunyan, in his Pilgrim's Progress, shews that there were religious professors in his day, who avoided those parts of religion which bring self-denial, trouble, and persecution, but who "delight to talk of the history or the mystery of things," and who "love to talk of miracles, wonders, or signs." The following is the reply which he represents Talkative as giving to Faithful: "To talk of such things is most profitable; for by so doing a man may get knowledge of many things; as of the vanity of earthly things and the benefit of things above. A man may learn the necessity of the new birth; the insufficiency of our works; the need of Christ's righteousness; what it is to repent, to believe, to pray, to suffer, or the like; what are the great promises or consolations of the gospel to his own comfort; to refute false opinions, to vindicate the truth, and also to instruct the ignorant." Talkative further assures Faithful that he could give him a hundred scriptures to prove that "a man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven; and that all is of grace not of works." Indeed so learned a divine is he, that when Faithful asked him upon what subject they should found their discourse, Talkative replied, "What you will; I will talk of things heavenly or of things earthly; things moral or things evangelical; things sacred or things profane; things past or things to come; things foreign or things at home; things more essential or things circumstantial; provided that all be done to our profit."

One of the favourite occupations of ministers of religion is to rail at the Church of Rome; yet they meanwhile appropriate to themselves all the infallibility of the Pope, and usurp his power of excommunication; and whilst they revile, there are ministers of that church doing more real service than all that the Protestant revilers have ever done. Mathew, in taking the intoxicating cup from the lips of Ireland's sons, exhibits unweared zeal, united with Christian meekness and sound judgment; whereas we find Dr. Edgar, the Protestant PROFESSOR of DIVINITY, at Belfast, decrying this remedy for drunkenness; satisfying himself with giving lectures on divinity; and despising the practical man who has thus been instrumental in "binding up that which was broken, and bringing again that which was driven away, and seeking that which was lost." In a letter recently published, he says, "I entertain the most confirmed abhorrence of teetotalism, as insulting to God and disgraceful to man." Teetotalism has done good to millions, and harm to none; it has brought thousands to places of worship, and has restored health, peace, and prosperity to them and their families; yet because it interferes with the vested interests of the maker and seller of strong drink, there are many ministers who dare not oppose the vice of drunkenness lest they should offend some influential member of their congregation. In England we profess to be astonished at the cowardly conduct of the ministers of religion of the United States; we are accustomed to say that they are silent upon the horrors of slavery because it would be attended with serious consequences if they were to speak boldly as they ought to speak; but we may notice the same want of fidelity at home respecting the slavery into which the drinking customs of our land have brought the mass of the people. "I am in a ticklish situation," said a dissenting minister to me, "I am in a ticklish situation," repeated this pastor of a flock, nominally INDEPENDENT, in the presence of all who were about to take part in a Temperance meeting. And what was his situation? He wished to favour the cause of Temperance, but one of the most influential members of his congregation was the largest innkeeper in the town, and another was a brewer!

That this silence on subjects which deeply affect the national welfare is not confined to a small number of dissenting ministers, abundant proof could be furnished. The Patriot, indeed, states, that "the Protestant dissenting ministers of this country are emphatically the teachers of the people, especially of the middle classes, and have a very large share in guiding public opinion;" yet in the anniversary of the Religious Freedom Society, as reported in the columns of that paper, we find the Rev. Mr. Giles, of Leeds, himself a dissenting minister, complaining bitterly of dissenting ministers in general "for their fear of speaking out on account of the more wealthy and influential members of their congregations. It was not of the people he was afraid, but of ministers of religion, and of a few rich people in the congregation whispering in their ears." He added, "I know they will see a few half hearted friends shrinking from their pews, but the question is, are we to instruct the people or are they to instruct us? Are we to speak the truth when it is popular or when it is not? When it is needed or when it is not? we to enlighten the people when they are in the full blaze of meridian sunshine, or when they are in the dark? I maintain that we, as ministers of religion, must stand forward, look on this as our work, and determine, in the name of God, that the work shall be done."

Some ministers of religion flatter themselves that pauperism is an evil with which they have nothing to do; and others have shown such ignorance of human nature and of Christianity as to express a wish to see almshouses erected in every parish, and to see the poor comfortably provided for, without any care of their own; yet Christ himself, who was able to provide abundantly for all, suffered his disciples to hunger, and permitted the multitude to be with him three days, as a test of their sincerity, before he fed them; and when they followed him again, in the hope of a similar repast, he sent them away with this just rebuke, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled," John 6, 26. When God himself led the Israelites through the wilderness, he permitted them to suffer hunger that he might "humble them and prove them and do them good in their latter end:" and when, having food and raiment, they were not therewith content, he brought upon them fresh trials. In the 21st chapter of Numbers, we read, "And the people spake against God and against Moses, wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, neither is

there any water, and our soul loatheth this light bread. And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died." The Apostles themselves so distributed the funds placed at their disposal as to cause murmuring among certain widows; a clsss at the present time most covetous of parish pay, and also the chief murmurers. When the deacons were chosen they acted partly as guardians of the poor and partly as preachers of the gospel. Timothy was a bishop, yet the Apostle Paul instructs him minutely on the subject of pauperism, and especially urges him to prevent imposition. Not only were ministers of religion always connected with the relief of the poor, but in all ages ecclesiastical property has been partly devoted to this purpose. Under the Mosaic dispensation it was said, "At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase the same year; and the Levite and the stranger, and the fatherless and the widow which are within thy gates, shall come and shall eat and be satisfied," Deut. 14, 28. Valuable as was the time of the Apostle Paul, and indifferent as he was to his own wealth, even to the extent of refusing the hire, of which, as a labourer, he was worthy, yet he was frequently engaged in collecting subscriptions for the supply of food to the Christians who were suffering through famine. The funds of the Roman Catholic Church were partly appropriated to the support of the poor. The property of the Church of England was in like manner vested in the clergy, as trustees, for the support of themselves, for the service of the church, and for the relief of the poor. If the clergy had always preached sound doctrine so as to discountenance indolence and the love of gifts-if the enormous wealth of the bishops and rich incumbents had been appropriated to the relief of unavoidable destitution-if dissenting ministers had proved themselves true shepherds by driving their flocks from the withering pastures of pauperism-if every denomination had taken charge of its own poor, as the Quakers have done, we should not now have to speak of pau-perism as the disgrace, and of poor rates as the oppression, of England. In Scotland the poor are relieved more nearly after the apostolic man-The contributions are voluntary, and they vary according to the destitution of those who receive and to the munificence of those who give; and on these two things they ought to depend. And although there are in Scotland many evils caused by intemperance, and although the soil is far less fertile than that of England, yet the people are better educated, more industrious, more frugal, and more independent. It is to Scotland that we apply for trustworthy stewards and overlookers, and for wellqualified schoolmasters. In England also relief to the poor was once an affair of the congregation and minister. It was administered by churchwardens; to the church congregation notice was given when a rate was required; in the church vestry it was determined whether such rate should be granted; there the money was paid to the poor; and of the vestry which decided these matters the clergyman was the chairman. It was obviously connected with ministers of religion from first to last. Those of the clergy who performed these arduous duties faithfully, gained an insight into the subject of pauperism, and have since been the strenuous supporters of the New Poor Law; whilst those who deemed themselves too spiritual to preside at a pay table, are perpetually blundering in such matters. In a pamphlet entitled, "The Pauper's

Advocate; a cry from the brink of the grave against the New Poor Law," Samuel Roberts, the author, says that the clergy in general are favourable to this law, and that they frequently act as guardians under it. Without intending it, he has borne an honourable testimony to those clergymen who, by their preaching, writing, and active services, have endeavoured to revive in the poor their former spirit of industry and manly independence. The compliment which he pays to dissenting ministers, if deserved by them, would be an argument against the prevailing system of dissent; inasmuch as it would show that the ministers chosen and maintained by the people are either too ignorant to understand the nature of pauperism, or so completely at the mercy of their congregations for a maintenance, that they dare not bring before them the whole counsel of God. Can this be the explanation of the phenomenon that dissent has rendered so little aid to the country, in her hour of need, against the combined forces of depraved pauperism, political hypocrisy, and sordid self-interest? Have dissenting ministers fearlessly defended this important though unpopular law? Have they not been silent except on one or two minor points which affect their sectarian interests? If they would resemble the ancient pastors and bishops, let them make full proof of their ministry. The most solemn exhortation given by the Apostle Paul to Timothy, is on the right treatment of pauper cases. He says, "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things without preferring one above another, doing nothing by partiality." 1 Tim. 5. 21. And what are the things to which he refers? They are rules to be observed in the treatment of applicants for relief, with which the whole chapter is filled. It may indeed be called the Apostle's Poor Law; and it is deeply to be regretted that it should be so seldom brought forward by those who call themselves the successors of Timothy. So far from encouraging the practice of relieving indiscriminately, he rejects even widows if they have children or grandchildren. He says, "If any widow have children or nephews (grandchildren), let THEM learn first to show PIETY AT HOME, and to REQUITE THEIR PARENTS, for that is GOOD and ACCEPTABLE TO GOD." Of those who have not children able to support them he rejects such as are under sixty:-" Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old." Of those who are above sixty, he allows only such as correspond to the following description :- "Well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work." And, being aware of the tendency of human beings to live upon each other, instead of living by their own industry, he says, "Younger widows refuse; they Learn to BE IDLE, WANDERING ABOUT FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE; AND NOT ONLY IDLE, BUT TATTLERS ALSO AND BUSYBODIES, SPEAKING THINGS WHICH THEY OUGHT NOT." And again, "If any man or woman that believeth have widows, let them relieve them, and let not the church be charged; that it may relieve them that are widows indeed." Of those who permit any of their relatives to be a burden to the public funds, he says, "If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." It has been said that this chapter has reference to the

appointment of deaconesses, and it may be convenient for those congregations which do not support their own poor so to expound it. Its meaning, however, is obvious. That able commentator, Matthew Henry, says, "We learn hence-(1). In the primitive church there was care taken of poor widows, and provision made for them; the churches of Christ in these days should follow so good an example, as far as they are able. (2.) In the distribution of the church's charity or alms, great care is to be taken that those share in the bounty who most want it, and best deserve it. A widow was not to be taken into the primitive church that had relations who were able to maintain her, or who was not well reported of for good works but lived in pleasure." "Charity misplaced is a great hinderance to true charity, therefore there should be great prudence in the choice of the objects of charity, that it may not be thrown away upon those who are not properly so, that there may be the more for those who are real objects of charity." That the churches found employment for those aged persons to whom they gave relief is a mark of their wisdom, and no proof of its not being a system of relief. To relieve, by giving employment, was the object of the Poor Law of Queen Elizabeth, which gives express directions for "setting on work" those who are destitute. This is Matthew Henry's interpretation :-"Honour widows that are widows indeed. Honour them, maintain them, admit them into office. There was in those times an office in the church in which widows were employed, and that was, to tend the sick, the aged, to look to them by the direction of the deacons." It would be well if, state pensions being done away, governments were to provide offices suited to the age and ability of the persons who are supposed to deserve such pensions; and if, parish pay being abolished, benevolent individuals were to take charge of such widows as they know to be deserving, and to bring up children that are orphans or deserted; and if the various congregations, instead of corrupting their ministers with large incomes, were to put into useful offices those who were not provided for by the charity of private individuals.

It may be objected, that things are greatly altered since the Apostles' days: but, in spite of unrighteous legislation and oppressive taxation, there are more means of living and less danger of famine amongst ourselves than amongst the early Christians. They had not those provident institutions, which enable working men, by a small sacrifice in the time of youth and vigour, to prepare a supply for the wants of old age and infirmity. They had not, when employment at home was deficient, an offer of a free passage to Australia or New Zealand, where there are abundance of work and high wages. The rapid spread of pauperism in America, wherever the English Poor Law has been introduced, is, however, an undeniable proof that the increase of paupers can neither be ascribed to our dense population, nor to any supposed badness of the

times.

No one suffers so much from the want of fidelity in the ministers of religion as the pauper himself. He that is born, reared, married, supported, and buried, at the cost of others, is a failure in Creation, and is utterly unprepared to give an account of his stewardship. He is the barren fig tree which cumbers the ground, and is not only unproductive but absolutely injurious. A man who hides his one talent in a napkin, under the plea that some have five, and others ten talents, should be

taught that he is responsible for the use of that one. False friends may soothe himin the troubles which he brings upon himself, but a time is coming when he will lament that ever he saw such friends. In this world of trial no man may act for another or make atonement unto God for him. Those persons take a wrong view of the poor man's condition who encourage him to rely upon charitable funds. Such funds can only exist through the instrumentality of industrious men; and it is a low sense of justice that so readily takes the earnings of the industrious to give to those whom capricious charity may think fit to patronise. Despotic and selfish men wish to have the lower classes as dependent upon them as possible; therefore they look with more favour upon the pauper and the criminal, who cringe to them for support, than upon the independent labourer, who will neither fawn nor flatter. Hence those newspapers and those men, who have been most distinguished for arbitrary opinions and intemperate language, have been most conspicuous in their opposition to the New Poor Law, and in their zeal for the poor. The tyrant is delighted with the suppliant pauper, who, on bended knee, hails him as THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND. The poor man, however, stands upon the same level with other men, and must give an account of the deeds done in the body. He is invited to fight the same good fight, and to run in the same honourable race; and, therefore, that man is guilty of cruel treachery who leads him to rely upon other men; who teaches him to evade the general law, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread;" and to disobey the universal command, "Six days shalt thou labour." The best affections of paupers are invariably destroyed. Parents learn to regard their children as a source of gain; and children in their turn expect to derive profit from their aged parents. It is not uncommon for them to refuse to perform the slightest office for each other except paid for by the parent. Can any thing be more barbarous than this utter absence of all proper feeling? Is it not the province of ministers of religion to turn the hearts of such fathers to their children, and of such children to their fathers.

Much has been said respecting compulsory religion and church rates; and but little respecting compulsory charity and poor-rates. Yet charity is greater than faith; and if true faith may be safely left to propagate itself, still more so may true charity. It is much more probable that the inhabitants of a parish would neglect to support a place of worship than that they would permit a fellow creature to die in the street. Church-rates are a serious evil, but in the outcry against them, it is forgotten that poor rates involve the same evil in a higher degree. If 600 Unions erect chapels in their workhouses, appoint to each a chaplain, and provide for each, fittings up, surplices, books, and sacramental wine, out of the poor-rates; if, out of the same poor-rates, the borough and county rates are taken, from which the salaries are paid to the chaplains of all the gaols in the kingdom; if the fees for the burial of all the paupers and criminals are taken from the same, wherein does the difference consist? How is it that dissenting ministers can discourse at great length respecting religious freedom, and descant upon the evils of India and the oppression of Africa, and yet not say one word in defence of the unpopular poor law, of the freedom of charity, and of the

deliverance of the poor from the bondage of pauperism!

Spurious charity prevails to an alarming extent, and it is the province

of ministers of religion to expose and check it. It is for them to show that a man may give all his goods to feed the poor, and yet not have charity; that he may make long prayers and pay tithes of all that he possesses, and yet be a hypocrite. False charity professes unbounded benevolence; and yet, when thwarted in its plans, or when confronted by men who do not approve of its proceedings, it exhibits the most angry passions, and gives vent to the most savage expressions. Under its influence many harsh things have been said and written against the Poor Law Commissioners and against the Poor Law Guardians. Monsters, demons, tyrants, fiends, are some of the terms by which they have been designated. By false or exaggerated statements, the opponents of this law have endeavoured to injure the reputation, and even to endanger the

lives of those who were engaged in carrying it into execution. False charity says, "I pity and therefore you must relieve; I have said to the cold and hungry, be ye warmed and fed, and you must supply the means; I am humane, you are selfish; and unless you are compelled by law to relieve the objects which I select, they will either perish or depend entirely upon a few generous individuals like myself." False charity creates new wants, draws together applicants faster than it can relieve them, and then leaves them in a more helpless condition than it found them. Of true charity we read, that it considers the poor and needy, and that it lets not the left hand know what the right hand doeth; but false charity is in haste to display its humanity; it has not patience to consider the consequences of what it does; it asks not what effect it may produce upon the young; it discerns not that that is the greatest help to the poor which teaches them to help themselves. We are told that Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light; but his most successful metamorphosis in modern times is into the character of the Poor Man's Friend. We may know him by his fruits. A good spirit is known by "gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance;" and an evil spirit by "emulations, wrath, strife, envyings, and such like." When we listen to the declamations of the poor man's friends in the House of Commons, or on the hustings, of which of these characteristics does their language remind us? If, at the present crisis, this be the favourite form of the evil spirit, and if it is the duty of ministers of religion to warn the people against his devices, then, for the sake of true charity, let them come forth and unmask the fiend!

Dissenters are endeavouring to obtain certain privileges for their paupers in the Union workhouses; but the more they obtrude their dissenting inmates before the public, the more they will expose their own ignorance of the nature of pauperism and of Christianity. Do dissenting ministers wish to send forth their paupers as their epistles, to be known and read of all men? Bad indeed then is the handwriting; and wretched the sentiments inscribed thereon! Are these their burning and shining lights to which they direct the people's gaze? The true Christian is humbled by his afflictions and corrected by his sufferings; and on the first opportunity he escapes from his poverty and provides for himself; whereas the pauper clings to the outward badges of poverty and feigns them if he has them not. Take away his rags and cleanse his person, and to-morrow the good apparel you have given him will be in pawn, and you will again see him in rags and filth; for, were he to appear as respectable as you left him, he would lose many of his bene-

factors. Of the numbers admitted in a given time into the Bath Union workhouse, 1681 were churchmen and 93 dissenters; of the burials during that time, there had been 214 churchmen and 15 dissenters. Of the adults in the house on the 12th of May, 1841, 289 were churchmen and 23 were dissenters. Instead of demanding that these 23 shall come out of the house to attend their meetings on Sundays, if dissenting churches will not maintain their own poor, let their ministers avail themselves of the privilege which the law allows, of assembling them at suitable times for religious instruction within the house. The law does not offer a salary for this, but it permits the shepherd who is not a hireling to come and look after his own sheep. Let them point out any one of the 23 whom they regard as a sincere Christian. I know a large Union workhouse, the master of which is a conscientious dissenter, who has discharged his duties faithfully to the satisfaction of all the guardians; and with this master, after he had held his office about eighteen months, I had the following conversation:—

What did you think of the workhouse when you first entered upon your duties? I was astonished at the good things provided for the inmates. I would not desire better provisions for my own family; I had

no conception that so much was done for the poor.

Have you found the paupers thankful for all that is done for them? Not at all. They always speak of it as their right. They say the house was built for them; that the poor-rates are for them; and that the officers are paid to wait on them. I have been astonished to see how little care they take of the property of the union; they will commit injury to the furniture and to their clothes, and will waste their food without the least scruple.

How many religious persons do you suppose there may be amongst them? I can speak with confidence of only one, whom I have frequently seen engaged in a room by himself, in a most devout manner. He is blind and deaf; and, perhaps, on this account, he has escaped the con-

taminating influence of their conversation.

Is the language of the paupers so corrupting? It is shocking; and, indeed, the chief evil that those of a better sort have to complain of, is the constant quarrels, oaths, and disgusting conversation of the inmates of the ward in which they live.

Are there no others, besides the blind man, of whose religion you entertain some hope? There are three or four aged women of whom I

am inclined to think favourably.

A similar testimony was given me by the excellent chaplain of that workhouse, who last week informed me that in every instance in which he had looked upon any inmate as actuated by religious principles, cir-

cumstances had occurred which completely destroyed his hopes.

Because true religion is respected and trusted, it is counterfeited: because real poverty is pitied and relieved, it is imitated; and if to dissent we attach privileges, a similar effect will be produced. There is no way of obtaining money which the indolence of man will not adopt in preference to his daily toil. There is no creed that pauperism would not readily profess to gain the privilege of wandering about from house to house, begging and drinking. The complaints of the inmates of a workhouse in Bath, before the formation of the Union, induced the overseer to order that the privilege of attending their respective places of worship,

which the assistant overseer had denied, should be restored. Coming to the workhouse on the Sunday evening to observe the order in which they returned, he had the mortification of witnessing every one of them returning in a state of intoxication. He instantly gave up his own order, and requested the assistant overseer to proceed as before. This fact I had from the overseer himself. In those churches in which the sacrament money is distributed amongst the poor persons who have partaken of the sacrament, there is an overflowing attendance upon this solemn ordinance. The service for the churching of women has been similarly abused. The curate of a large parish in Bath gave a gratuity to women who came to be churched, thinking that, after their confinement, they were objects of sympathy. The great increase in the number of women having led him to make inquiry, he discovered that many of them had never had children at all, but that they had gone through the ceremony of churching in order to obtain the gifts. The chaplain already mentioned informed me that he had been in the habit of giving money to some of the inmates on their leaving the workhouse; but that many had left the house for the purpose of obtaining his gratuity, and having spent it at a public house, returned to the workhouse in a state of intoxication. Last week an inmate came to his residence and demanded the halfcrown which was given to those who left the workhouse; and on the demand being refused, she flew into a rage and declared she had a right to it. With such facts before us, will it be wise to confer on all inmates of workhouses who choose to call themselves dissenters, the privilege of going out once a-week? I think not. Let dissenting ministers take in their turn the office of guardian; instead of foolish and unlearned questions in divinity, which do gender strifes, let them become acquainted with pauper habits. Let them visit their poor brethren if they desire it; but let them not incur the risk of encouraging pauperism and hypocrisy.

Let ministers of religion discourage in the poor the desire of gifts. Let them remind their people that the account they must one day give, will not be of what others have done for them, but of what they have done for themselves. Let them teach the young that the first prayer for themselves, which they are commanded to offer, is for daily bread; and that the first duty which they are commanded to perform, is to earn it. Let them discover the obstacles which impede the prosperity of the labouring man, and let them seek the removal of all laws which bear unjustly upon him. Let industry have free scope, and let diligence and good conduct obtain their reward. Set before the young man those provident institutions which will enable him to provide for himself and family in the time of adversity, sickness, and old age. If ignorant, place within his reach the means of instruction; if desponding, rouse his energies; bid him rise to the first duty of man-self-support; but do not support him. Do not render him worthless, by doing for him that which God has given him to do, and for the doing of which he must give

account.

OBJECTIONS

TO THE

NEW POOR LAW

ANSWERED.

PART I.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF HINTON CHARTERHOUSE, NEAR BATH,
LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND A GUARDIAN OF THE BATH UNION.

SECOND THOUSAND.

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OBJECTIONS TO THE NEW POOR LAW ANSWERED.

1.- The Poon work for society in their youth; and therefore they ought to be maintained by society in their old age. - Both these assertions are untrue. No man works for others. All men work for themselves; and when they have received the wages for which they worked, all obligation ceases. The labourer has no intention whatever to serve society. When he ploughs, and sows, and reaps, he sells his labour, as a tradesman sells his commodities, for the best price that he can get; and if the market price of labour be low in one parish or country, he can offer it in other parishes or countries, where there is a greater demand for it. To offer his labour in a place in which there are already too many labourers, is like sending coals to Newcastle: vet such folly is perpetually committed, in consequence of the law of settlement; which, in a pauperised community, invests with an imaginary privilege the place in which there is a legal right for a maintenance; but which, in reality, is the reverse of a privilege, as it has kept thousands lingering in poverty, who, but for this delusion, would have removed to other parts of the world, and become prosperous. If labour is ill paid, and food dear in England, labour is well paid, and food cheap in the United States; and the sum commonly paid in intoxicating drinks, would, if saved, soon be sufficient to pay the passage across the Atlantic. This idea of obligation for work done is extremely injurious. A baker offers for sale his bread; and when he has received for a loaf its equivalent price, the purchaser and seller are equally benefited, and the obligation is mutual. Wealth can only be increased by labour and exchange; and, by an equitable exchange, both parties are made richer. If a man lets out a horse by the day, or by the journey, he receives a price; and he who pays the price is under no obligation to him for the use of the horse's strength. A labourer has not the strength of a horse to let, but he has the strength of a man. which, being less than that of a horse, is let for less price; that of the horse being let for five or ten shillings a-day, and that of the man for eighteen pence, or two shillings; or, in places where labourers are scarce, and labour consequently dear, from three to five shillings a-day. Whatever are the usual wages of labour in any district, such is the real value of labour in that district; for if it were worth more, competition would soon raise the market price. If a shoemaker exchange a pair of shoes for a hat; if a capitalist receive, for the use of his money, five pounds for every hundred; if the landlord receive two pounds an acre for the use of his land, or ten pounds a-year for the use of a house, the bargain is clear. In like manner, a man's muscles are his capital, and his time is money; and for the use of

these, he demands such interest as their value in the neighbourhood will command. The labourer wants money, and he offers to an employer, who wants labour, the use of his strength, for ten hours a-day, for eighteen pence. The employer must make a profit, also, upon his money; and if he finds that the work performed for eighteen pence will, in due time, be worth to himself two shillings, and thus afford remuneration to himself for the time and trouble which he bestows in superintending, as well as interest for the money paid in wages, he accepts the offer, and the work is done. At the end of the week, the labourer says, I have performed my part of the agreement: I have sold you the use of my strength for six days, at ten hours per day. and I now ask for the stipulated payment of nine shillings. The master gives it; and if the workman has given full work, and the master full wages, both are gainers; both are satisfied; and no obligation remains on the part of either towards the other. If, as in pauperised districts, men are idle and troublesome-if they care more for the pipe and the pot than for the fulfilment of their duty, their labour is of less value to the employer, and wages are low. If, in addition to strength and good conduct, a man offers the use of great skill, or great knowledge, obtained by a costly education, or by much study and practice, -as, for instance, skill in drawing, music, languages, science, law, or medicine,—the price demanded is greater, but the bargain is of the same nature. If the employer of labour pays more than the labour is worth to him; if he speculates unwisely, or lives extravagantly, he is reduced to poverty, but he has no claim upon the men who once laboured for him; he cannot ask them to give additional labour without payment, inasmuch as the former transaction was complete in itself, and no obligation remains. In like manner, if the labourer neglects, in the spring time of life, to provide for a rainy day, for a time of sickness. or for the winter of old age; if he displays less wisdom than the ant, "which, having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest:' and if he thus comes to poverty, he has no claim upon his employer. It happens to him according to the scripture prediction, "The idle soul shall suffer hunger;" and "So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, (step by step, yet certainly,) and thy want as an armed man," (irresistibly.) Still less has he a claim upon society for he has received more benefits from society then ever he conferred upon it; and if he has led an idle. dishonest, or intemperate life, he has been positively injurious to society, which would have been better if he had never been porn. Nor has he any claim upon a parish; for if no obligation emains on the part of the employer for whom he actually worked nuch less can there be any obligation on the part of those for hom he never worked at all. The rate-payers have, perhaps, bt even seen bim; or, if they have, it may have been as one

who has been brought up at their expense; and how then can he have any claim on them? He is a debtor to the ratepayers; and if he were an honest man he would pay back to the parish all that they might have paid for him in his childhood. Far be it from me to deny all sense of obligation, and all feelings of gratitude. We owe to our Creator most humble and hearty thanks for "our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory." We owe the deepest gratitude to our parents, for their unwearied kindness to us in helpless infancy and youth. We owe the sincere feelings of benevolence to those who have in any way done us good. We are bound to love our neighbours, and to cultivate good will to all mankind. But still there remains no peculiar obligation towards those who have sold to us, or bought of us: who have worked for us for hire, or who have in any way served us in the way of their trade or calling. Cobbett. in his "Advice to Young Men," says, "Start, I beseech vou, with this conviction firmly fixed in your mind, that you have no right to live in this world; and being of hale body and sound mind, you have no right to any earthly existence without doing work of some sort or other; unless you have ample fortune whereon to live clear of debt; and that even then you have no right to breed children, to be kept by others, or to be exposed to the chance of being so kept. Start with this conviction thoroughly implanted in your mind. To wish to live on the labour of others is, besides the folly of it, to contemplate a fraud, at the least; and under certain circumstances, to meditate oppression and robbery. Write it on your heart that you will depend solely on your own merit and your own exertions."

2.-Corn Laws and Taxes upon the necessaries of life rob the poor and diminish their resources; and therefore they ought to receive some return out of the Poor Rate .- This objection is thus stated in the Bath Journal for March 29, 1841. "We agree with the Irish correspondent that the Poor Law is the taking the property of one man to give to another; and we also agree that Poor Laws ought to be abolished; but there is a right way to do all things. While Government, by Corn Laws and other restrictions, rob the poor by raising the price of the necessaries of life, there is no alternative but poor laws or revolution. The poor of this country are robbed and made poor; and the poor laws are only a restoration of a portion of the spoil, to preserve the peace of society -a sop to silence discontent. Let all restrictions on commerce be abolished; let the English merchants trade freely with the whole world: our manufactories will then be full of activity. the labourers will be called into requisition, wages will rise, and Union gaols be deserted."-This method of restitution is capricious and unjust. When we would redress the wrongs of a man who has been robbed, we ask, who robbed him? and to what extent? We discover the robber that we may punish him: and

we recover the goods stolen that we may restore them; and if there are many who have been plundered, we restore to each in proportion to his loss. This is not the case with poor rates. We punish one person for a robbery committed by another. Whilst two men in Bath are equally robbed by legislators in London, we take from one of these two men, in order to recompense the other. It is even worse than this: for they who are most robbed by corn laws are the very persons who are most robbed by poor rates, since they who, by industry and frugality, have provided more of the necessaries of life, pay more of the taxes which are placed upon those necessaries; whereas the idle, the ragged, and the houseless, consuming less of the necessaries of life, pay less of the taxes thereon. Thus they who have been most robbed, because of their good conduct, are again robbed by poor rates for the support of those who were less robbed than themselves, but who, by improvidence and sloth, have reduced themselves to beggary. He, therefore, that has been least injured by corn laws, is rewarded by poor laws; and he who has been most injured by corn laws, is punished by poor laws. This is a sliding scale of the worst description, offering as it does a premium upon misconduct.

If working men are robbed by taxes upon food, the natural inference is not, "therefore rob them a second time, and let the more industrious recompense the less industrious;" but the inference ought to be, "repeal the corn laws; let food be cheap and trade free; open to the use of man the wide world which was designed for his use." This remedy would be suitable to the disease. This would give no sop to silence that discontent; which ought not to be silenced when it arises from a real grievance which is capable of removal. The relief by poor rates to those who are impoverished by corn laws is a quack nostrum to heal the wound slightly, and but for which there might be effected a perfect cure. Every pauper is an individual lost to the numbers who ought to struggle for commercial and political freedom; as he has neither vote nor energy. Were he to stir a step he would endanger the parish pay, to which habit soon renders him more dearly attached than to the cause of liberty and justice. Every ratepayer who is removed from the list of payers to that of paupers, makes the burthen heavier for those who remain; and every additional sixpence taken from a man by poor rates, diminishes his means of seeking redress from the evils of corn laws. On the other hand, if we no longer rob one man to pay another, we leave every man to look to himself. If we would really serve those who are wronged, let us point out the source of their distress; that which stops trade diminishes employment, and consequently wages, and the food which those wages would purchase. Thus the pressure of necessity would lead men to combine for the removal of its cause. When we say to a man, "the state has robbed you, and therefore your

neighbours shall support you," we bribe him to a state of quiet, and we increase the evil until, if not stopped in time, it would end in the destruction of all property, and in the degradation of all minds. We divert the attention of the suffering party from the cause of their suffering to an ignoble pursuit of a temporary palliation; which, whilst it leaves the disease untouched, stops all further inquiry after the proper cure. That there are corn laws is no reason whatever that there should be parish pay, but the very opposite; and however numerous may be the bad laws which afflict a country, parochial relief can only increase the evil. If corn laws are to be repealed, it will require the greatest energy on the part of the people, and the union of the greatest possible number of men to accomplish the work. If the industrious classes would unanimously pledge themselves to abstain from strong drink and from parish pay, there is no wise and good end to which they could not speedily attain. It may be reasonable to demand the repeal of both corn laws and poor laws, because both are essentially unjust; because of the new poor law, which throws men on their resources, it may be right to ask for a repeal of corn laws, which diminish men's resources; but it is not consistent with wisdom or justice to demand the repeal of the new poor law, because of the existence of the corn laws; or to cause those ratepayers to bear additional burthens who are already oppressed with heavy burthens. In order to obtain the repeal of the corn laws, or any other bad laws, we must not by unnecessary poor rates take from men of energy the ability to seek their country's regeneration: nor must we give to men of less energy that deceitful aid which breaks their spirit and induces them to sit down in inglorious repose.

3.—The population is so dense, increasing by a thousand a day, whilst the land continues the same, that there is not employment for all, and some must be supported by the rest. Here again the remedy is not suited to the disease; and can only postpone the evil which must by its means be continually increased. To a complaint of a too numerous population the reply would naturally be, "Go to those lands which are good and large, where, for a few shillings per acre, you may purchase better land, with better climate, better people, and better laws." Land is a savings bank for labour, and they who would turn the capital which they possess in their muscular strength to good account, may find abundant means of doing so. The words addressed to Joshua are still true, "There remaineth much land to be possessed."-Joshua 13, 1. From Australia and from New Zealand invitations are issued to the people of England almost in the language of scripture, "We have seen the land, and behold it is good: and are you still? be not slothful to go and to enter and possess the land. When ye go, ye shall come unto a people secure, and to a large land: for God hath given it into your hands; a place where there is no want of any thing that is in the earth."—Judges 17, 9. In the older cities of the United States, when the population increases, enterprising persons migrate to the less populous districts of the west; and their journey by land is some times more tedious and expensive than a fortnight's voyage across the Atlantic. It is parish pay and the benefits supposed to be connected with a parochial settlement which have prevented thousands from bettering their condition by removing to other lands. Those who leave a densely inhabited country are benefactors to themselves, and to those that stay behind; and in due time the colonies so formed become the most profitable sources of commerce to the mother country. What would America now be, and where would be our vast trade with the United States, if men of enterprise and intelligence had not, in former days, quitted the land of their nativity to seek for themselves a better home?

It is not, however, to be conceded that pauperism is owing to a dense population. The industrious tradesman may suffer from this cause; and excessive competition may make it more difficult to obtain an honest livelihood; but pauperism, or the desire to live upon the labours of other men, would exist, if cherished by bad laws, in the most prosperous countries, and in the most extensive regions. The statistics of pauperism demonstrate that in the densely inhabited manufacturing districts of England, poor-rates are least in amount; whilst in the thinly inhabited agricultural districts, the poor-rates are the highest. Thus in Wiltshire the heads of pauper families are fourteen per cent. of the population, whereas, in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lancashire, they are only five or six per cent. In some parishes under the New Poor Law, pauperism has almost disappeared, whilst in parishes in the neighbourhood, under similar circumstances, but subject to opposite management, it has considerably increased. In some Unions the poor-rates have been diminished forty per cent.; whereas, in other Unions, in the same county, but with guardians acting upon opposite principles, the poor-rates have increased twenty per cent. In the North of England there are many parishes in which no agricultural labourer has ever been known to receive parish pay; whereas, in many parishes in the South of England there is not an agricultural labourer who has not had assistance from the parish. But what can be more decisive than the alarming increase of pauperism in the United States, wherever the English system of compulsory charity has been introduced? In some of the States, pauperism is nearly as rampant, and the consequent improvidence, insolence, and crime, nearly as conspicuous as in England. Voluntary charity, guided by discretion, draws out the best of feelings in him that gives, and in him that receives but money taken by force from some and given without that care which is exercised by the man who relieves at his own cost, is invariably the cause of mischief. It is not the dense population.

but bad institutions, which pauperise the community. Those towns which most abound with charitable institutions, with soup funds, coal funds, blanket funds, and all manner of ways of doing for the people, that which they ought to do for themselves, always possess the largest number of beggars; and those parishes which have been most liberal in parochial allowances. always contain the greatest number of paupers; consequently, these charities, and this parochial relief, create and perpetuate these miserable beings; and are, therefore, essentially mischievous and cruel in their nature. They who maintain that men become paupers in spite of themselves, and not in cousequence of their own want of diligence, frugality, and forethought. argue upon infidel principles. The depravity of human nature is constantly represented in the Bible as displaying itself in the universal tendency of man to indolence, and to the neglect of the duties which he owes to himself and to his family. Of the six commandments which prescribe men's duties to each other, two have distinct reference to the tendency of men to live upon each others earnings. "Thou shalt not steal:" "Thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbour's," sufficiently point out this universal tendency. A man of very little observation sees it in every class of society; as well in the rich who live on state pensions, and who covet civil and ecclesiastical incomes without adequate service, as in the poor who live on parish pay.

4. - Grant to every man an allotment of land at a fair rent, and then the New Poor Law may be introduced, but not till then .- In reply to this, it is obvious that without industry an allotment of land will not be cultivated. Such objectors seem to forget that there are wicked men who "sleep not except they have done some mischief." The wise author of the book of Proverbs, who uttered so many pointed rebukes to the slothful and the improvident, thus describes an idle man's allotment: "I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding; and, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down. Then I saw, and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction. Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep: so shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth; and thy want as an armed man." Prov. 24, 30 .- It is easier to provide land than to impart the diligence necessary for its cultivation. And although in this parish, in which the allotment system has been established eight years, the sixty allotment tenants have found their land of great benefit to them, yet there has been occasionally a man whose idleness and vice would not allow him to work. The system has succeeded well in Hinton, because we have no paupers amongst us: we have no out-of-door relief, except in an occasional case of a person confined to bed through sickness; the few permanently helpless being comfortably provided for in the workhouse. In pauperised places, however, the allotment system has not succeeded. Good land has been offered on good terms to ablebodied paupers, but they have refused it; it has even been manured, and planted with potatoes for them, and they have refused to dig them up, lest it should be used as an argument for taking away their parish pay. Those who urge this objection are in reality less kind to the poor than the new poor law itself. When they have recommended their favourite system of an allotment of land, instead of providing the workhouse as a test of real destitution. I have sometimes asked, "what would you do if the persons to whom you give the land are too idle to work upon it?" and the answer has been, "I would allow them to starve, for they would deserve it." The new poor law is more humane. The language of the guardians to an applicant for relief is, "we know no more of your circumstances than what we can gather from our relieving officer and what you choose to reyeal yourself; we are ignorant of your secret resources, your relatives, your abilities, and your strength; you are acquainted with these things, and you only are competent to sit in judgment upon yourself. In order to induce you to do so, we offer you a comfortable support in the workhouse, with certain restrictions upon your liberty; with a cessation of all vagrant habits, and of the means of intoxication. Now decide for yourself."

5.-Give a better Education to the People, and then you may abolish all Poor Laws.—In his valuable work on "Popular Economy." Mr. Symons says, "one half the sum now raised for poor rates would supply a sum which, devoted to national education on something like a proper scale, would render poor rates unnecessary. Give a thorough education to your people. Give to productive energy the enormous stimulus and development of mental aptitude and its concomitant moral habits and restraints. and there would be no poor! I speak on no vague theory, I speak on the authority of a country where the experiment has been tried; a country where there are not one-fourth of the natural advantages we possess; where the physical elements of wealth are almost as scanty and barren as they are copious and fertile here; and in that country where there is no ignorance there are no paupers. Let those who question these facts visit the northern cantons of Switzerland."

This may be true of a country in which pauperism has never existed; but in a pauperised country, education, by mere school learning, will not suffice to eradicate pauperism. Paupers will either not send their children to school, or they will send them to those schools from which most is to be got, and not at which most is to be learned. State pauperism is as bad as parish pauperism; and yet, notwithstanding public schools and colleges, it flourishes abundantly amongst the aristocracy. Education, as a training of the body and mind for active and useful service,

must be adapted to the state of the persons to be taught, and to the end aimed at. There is a separate teaching for the tailor, the shoemaker, and the man of science. There are different bodily exercises for the delicate and the robust. The best education for paupers is to shut against them the door of parish pay. whilst at the same time you open the door of independent industry and useful learning. The New Poor Law is, in this sense, a branch of National Education. The prodigal son, in the parable, with the advantage of the best of fathers, reduced himself, by his profligate habits, to such a state of degradation, as to feed on the husks which the swine did eat: but when NO MAN GAVE UNTO HIM, he came to himself, and arose and returned to his father's house; where he was washed from the mire, his rags changed for clean apparel, and then he feasted on the fatted calf. The strict application of the New Poor Law leads a man to come to himself. When the means of intemperance fail, he is roused to exertion, and he then, under the teaching of necessity, that mother of invention, thinks of the many good things he might have had, if he had continued to lead a life of sobriety and good conduct. Whereas all these things might have been told him in vain, so long as he had the means of gratifying his profligate habits. This is the education which our Creator gives to his creatures. He permits them to reap according as they sow. If they sow the wind, they reap the whirlwind. If they spend the day in folly, they lie down at night in sorrrow. Whereas they who live soberly, righteously, and godly, have the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. Our troubles are our schoolmasters; and many valuable lessons are learned in the school of adversity.

A magistrate once informed me that he could neither refuse relief to a pauper; nor could be punish a criminal, because of the want of education, which has left them too ignorant to know how to conduct themselves. This is a very dangerous sentiment. The punishment of crime affords the only means of education which the most depraved portion of society are likely to have. The scripture, for this reason, describes rulers as a terror to evil doers; and the magistrate as not holding the sword in vain. There is an education in property. He who has a pig in his sty. or a potatoe pit in his garden, learns to see the need of law: and begins to prefer the rule of right to the rule of might. Take from crime its punishment, and from idleness its hunger, and you take away the first principles of education. Enforce the law. Allow the idle to get himself out of the troubles which he brings upon himself; let the industrious enjoy the full benefit of his industry, and you have a valuable species of education going on all over the land.

6.—Men who have large families cannot maintain their children without the aid of the parish.—If this were true, it would imply an imperfection in the arrangements of the Creator; who, hav-

ing enabled other animals to provide for their offspring, has left man destitute of that ability. But it is not true. There are, indeed, many who do not support their families; and these are encouraged in their wickedness by the assertion that men cannot support their families without assistance from the poor rates. I have known many who were receiving high wages desert their families: I have known a father, who received good wages as a sawyer, leave his only child to the parish, whilst he spent all his money in gratifying his thirst for drink. I have known that father plunder his child of the clothing which had been provided for her by the kindness of friends; I have known profligate parents who have never taken the least notice of their children whilst they were living in the workhouse at the charge of the parish, and who, for many years, had been supposed by the overseers to be dead, immediately visit their children, when they have been placed out in respectable service, in order to obtain money by inducing them to rob their master and mistress; but, I never knew aman who had been uniformly sober, industrious and frugal, who was not able to provide food and clothing for his family. The account given of themselves, at Temperance meetings, by reclaimed drunkards, would afford valuable instruction even to our senators. At the great meeting, at the Assembly-rooms, at Bath, on Whit-Monday, a remarkable case was detailed. A man and wife and six or eight small children, had formerly been in great destitution in consequence of drunkenness; they signed the Temperance pledge; and last quarter, with the same wages as formerly, they not only paid their debts and supported their children, but had saved £2 10s. Assistance to the family of the drunkard frequently increases his drunkenness. A case was stated at the same meeting, of this description: a man who was in the habit of spending almost all his wages in intoxicating drink, and taking home only sufficient to keep his wife and children from starvation, had continued from Saturday night until the middle of the following week at the public house; he then determined to go home and give to his wife the sum of half a erown which remained; but, finding on his arrival, that a lady had supplied his family with food, he swore at his wife, returned to the public-house, and spent in drink the half-crown destined for that purpose. At a temperance meeting, held at Wootton Basset, on Whit-Tuesday, I heard a reclaimed drunkard declare that he had sometimes spent f7 in intoxicating liquors in one week; and that, in his eagerness to drink, he had not patience to wait till it was poured into a glass, but he drank the brandy out of the bottle. This man, and many others, whose remark. able stories I have heard from their own mouths, have not only cleared off all old debts, and provided comfortably for their families, but are always willing to devote their leisure time and their money to the work of reclaiming other drunkards. It is the Poor Law, and the injurious language of the " Poor Man's

Friend," that lead some labouring men to suppose that they cannot support their families. King David had been thrown into most trying circumstances himself, and had many opportunities of witnessing the circumstances of other men, and he bears the following testimony:—"I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his sped begging their bread."—Psalm 37, 25.

Dr. Franklin says, "that which maintains one vice would bring up two children." His advice to the poor is,

" For age and want save while you may; No morning sun lasts a whole day."

And he tells them that poverty comes

"When women, for tea, forsake spinning and knitting, And men, for punch, forsake hewing and splitting."

He adds, "Away, then, with your expensive follies, and you will not have much cause to complain of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable families." And that they may not beg, borrow, or come upon a parish, he advises, "Rather go to bed supperless, than rise in debt." These maxims the poor laws have taught men to despise. Whenever a self-supporting system shall again be adopted in England, it will be found, according to the testimony of overseers, who have had great experience under the old system, that a large family is beneficial to a man. When the first children are young, the father is in the prime of his life; and before the children become very numerous, the older ones are able to earn their own living. Mr. Cobbett tells us that, from the age of six, he earned his own bread. He says, "A father like our's, it will be readily supposed, did not suffer us to eat the bread of idleness. I do not remember the time when I did not earn my own living. My first occupation was driving the small birds from the turnips, and the rooks from the pease. When I first trudged a field, with my wooden bottle and my satchel swung over my shoulders, I was hardly able to climb the gates and stiles. My next employment was weeding wheat, and leading a single horse at harrowing barley. Hoeing pease then followed; and thence I arrived at the honour of joining the reapers in the harvest, driving the team, and holding the plough. We were all of us strong and laborious; and my father used to boast that he had four boys, the eldest of whom was but fifteen years of age, who did as much work as any three men in the parish of Farnham. Honest pride and happy days!" When Mr. Cobbett rose to become a member of parliament, he ascribed all his success in life to his early hardships. Children that are brought up in the principles of honesty and in the habits of industry, are a source of gain to their parents. The wife of a labouring man informed me that her husband brought home, on Saturday night, 9s., but that her three children brought home 10s. This agrees with the language of scripture, which invariably speaks of children as a blessing, and declares, "Happy is the man that hath his quiver

full of them." I know a worthy man, who has brought up seven children, each of which is occupying a useful station in society. I enquired how he had accomplished a task that is, by many, deemed impossible? He told me that he had sometimes gone through much anxiety, when trade was bad and bread dear; but that when he and other men, who worked at the same factory, were thrown out of employ, all the rest went immediately to the parish for support, and are at this time wretched paupers; whilst he alone determined, by some means or other, to provide for himself; that, whilst others had thrown their aged parents upon the parish, he had kept an aged mother five years, and had never received any assistance from any quarter. I could say much of the present prosperous condition of this valuable family: but, as they are all living, I shall merely add, that one of the greatest hardships which he endured in this honourable course of life was from that very poor law which is thought to be favourable to working men. He informed me that, ten years since, he had to pay nine rates and a half in one year, amounting, at 4s, a rate, to f1 18s,; whereas, under the present condition of this parish, he pays but 7s. in the year. There are many similar instances of upright men who have refused, however large their families, to ask or accept of parish pay; who have, in like manner, by their own labour, supported their own parents; who have ultimately risen, by the blessing of Providence on their good conduct, to circumstances of comfort and respectability; and who have been compelled, out of the fruits of their honest toil, to contribute to those poor rates on which were subsisting the most worthless characters in the neighbourhood.

Destitution of families, starvation of children, and even infanticide have been ascribed to the New Poor Law in many cases in which the parents themselves could have revealed a very different cause. Public houses and beer shops are amongst the principal causes of poverty; newspapers find their greatest sale at these houses; and that which hides from public view the real cause, and throws the guilt from the houses of tippling to the New Poor Law, is sure to find acceptance with the keepers of these houses. The Somerset County Gazette ascribed the crime of Edward Garrett, who was tried for poisoning his two children. to the want of parochial relief, and those London papers which find it more profitable to pander to the vices of men, than to attemot to reform those vices, and which, as the great scavengers of society, expose to view the filthy materials which it were better to remove, copied the article into their columns; whereas, the case of Edward Garrett was in no way whatever connected with the Poor Law. He resided in the parish of Philip's Norton, adjoining to that of Hinton; he had a settlement in the parish of Shoreditch, in London. His good voice and his musical talent led him into company; his own relatives acknowledge that it was to singing and ringing that he owed all his troubles. Instead

of attending to his trade as shoemaker, he devoted much time and money to the construction of an organ. In consequence of this he became involved in debt to the amount of twenty pounds, until at length the shopkeepers refused to sell him any more goods. Under these circumstances he committed the crime for which he has been transported; but with which, respectably connected as he was, the New Poor Law had nothing whatever to do. The only effect of a Poor Law upon him, according to a statement recently made to me by his wife, was to compel him in the midst of his difficulties to pay poor rates; he having paid three rates of 1s. 8d. each during the six months previous to the commission of the crime.

I could relate many instances in which the poor rates have pressed hard upon parents; but, a few shall suffice. A working man lately applied to the Board of Guardians for the Bath Union respecting the removal of his wife and children from the town of Bridport, in Dorsetshire, to his own parish of Weston, near Bath. I offered the man work in my garden at two shillings a day; and, finding him an excellent workman, I enquired into the reason of his making application to the Board. Amongst other troubles with which he had to contend, it appeared that, during the year preceding the 25th of March, 1841, he had paid eleven shillings in poor rates; that, within the last two months, he had been called upon for three rates, a poor rate of 2s., a high-way rate of 1s. 5d., and a church rate of 1s. 5d.; that, having been sometime out of work, he was not able to pay the 4s. 10d. thus demanded; and that the collector, after repeated calls, threatened to seize his goods; "and then," said he, "I determined to cut and run, and come to my own parish." The same week the secretary to the Temperance society at Bath, informed me of one of their members who had been kept some time from his work by sickness, who, when he had returned to his work and received the sum of £2, was compelled to pay £1 los. of that sum to the collector of poor rates, leaving for the poor fellow himself only four shillings. I have before me the Wiltshire Independent containing a list of persons summoned before the magistrates at Devizes, and compelled to pay poor rates and costs. Of the number is the following:-

Richard Champion said he had not done a day's work for twelve weeks, and had two children to maintain. A distress warrant was ordered for 4s. rate, and 2s. 6d. costs, and Champion was allowed three days to try and make up the money." It appears, therefore, that the poor rates, which encourage the idle, inflict an injury upon the industrious, and render it more difficult to provide for a large family. If there were no poor rates, the la-

bouring man would enjoy the fruits of his labour; the farmer would have the sum which he now pays in poor rates, to dispose of in the employment of additional labourers; the shopkeeper, having less to pay for his house and shop, would be able to sell his goods to the labourer at a less price; and by these means the labourer would be better able to provide for a large family.

If, to remove this hardship, we levy the rates upon the landlord, the case is not in the least improved. It is capable of demonstration that the poor rates will ultimately be paid by the tenant in the shape of rent. If we go further and excuse the property altogether, we confer a favour on the owner of that property, and inflict a wrong on the owners of other property in the neighbourhood; we offer a premium to the building of small tenements; and we throw an additional weight of taxation upon the class next above the parties excused. In order to carry out the principle of exemption, so as to include all cases of hardship, we must strike one half the ratepayers from the list; not merely the labouring class, but widows with small income, and tradesmen in embarrassed circumstances; and when this had been accomplished, the burden upon the remaining half of the ratepayers would be intolerable; property would be depreciated in value; those affluent persons, who were not tied to the spot. would move to a less pauperised part of England, or, perhaps, to the continent. In this downward progress, those who paid well would have to pay the more frequently, because of the arrears of those who paid ill; until, they also refusing, or removing, the collectors would be unable to collect the rates. and the paupers would be without the means of support. Justice demands, not that some be excused from payment, but that pauperism and poor-rates be gradually diminished, and ultimately annihilated; and then those very persons, who now drag society down by their dead weight, would, by their productive industry, help to support the very parties whom they now oppress.

OBJECTIONS

TO THE

NEW POOR LAW

ANSWERED.

PART II.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF HINTON CHARTERHOUSE, NEAR BATH,
LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND A GUARDIAN OF THE BATH UNION.

LONDON:

JOHN GREEN, 121, NEWGATE STREET;
AND SAMUEL GIBBS, 5, UNION STREET, BATH.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

No. 12.

1841.

SECTIONS

WELL LOOK FV

AND REAL PROPERTY.

of Selection

A PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TO A PARTY OF THE P

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OBJECTIONS TO THE NEW POOR LAW ANSWERED.

7 .- All poor persons above sixty years of age ought to have relief .-To which I reply, in the first place, that many persons of sixty are stronger than others of forty; and that there are labourers of seventy or eighty who are earning good wages; and, in the next place, that the destitution of age is usually the consequence of the improvidence of youth, which improvidence is fostered by the Poor Law. Franklin says, "Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other:"-the scripture says, "They that plough iniquity and sow wickedness, reap the same:" Job. 4.8.; but the Poor Law says, "The lazy, improvident, and vicious shall, in their old age, live in comfort, on pensions which the industrious and prudent shall be compelled to pay." Four aged paupers, with half-a-crown a-week for each. may club together with a united income of ten shillings a-week, received without labour, whilst a man and wife, and four children, six persons, requiring more food, have but nine shillings a-week in return for hard work, and are compelled to pay poor rates. Man is a creature of habit; and, when surrounded by aged persons thus provided for, no warning voice will prevent the young from forming their opinions accordingly. Divine Providence teaches man, by the pressure of stern necessity. The consequences of thus neglecting careful precautions are thus set forth in scripture :- The five foolish virgins took their lamps and took no oil with them: but the five wise virgins took oil in their vessels with their lamps; and at midnight the foolish said unto the wise, "Give us of your oil, for our lamps are gone out. But the wise answered, saying, "Not so; lest there be not enough for us and you:" but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves. "And while they went to buy. the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage: and the door was shut." Matt. 25. If, when their lamps were gone out, the foolish virgins could have claimed a right to a share in the oil which the wise had provided. then would others have been led by their example, to be equally careless and improvident. This indeed is the inference drawn from it by the divine teacher himself, "Watch therefore;" be awake; be vigilant, and prepare for whatever lies before you. The working bees, making honey in summer for their food in winter, hold out to man a striking example. Under the old Poor Law, however, it was common for the pauper to spend the first seventeen years of his life in idleness, at the expense of the parish; to marry at nineteen; as soon as children were born, to demand an allowance on their account; to live upon the parish during the last twenty or thirty years of life on the plea of old age; and finally to be buried at the cost of those rate-payers at whose expense he had lived.

In order to show the effect of pauperised old age upon those around. I shall state a few facts which came under my own observation. A pauper, of 84 years old, had been receiving parochial relief from this parish about thirty years before his death. One day he was telling me that during that period the tobacco, which he was in the habit of chewing, and which he liked better than his food, had cost him forty pounds; this of course was paid by the poor rates. Whilst in conversation, his son, a man of respectable appearance, passing by with a cart and horse, the old man informed me that the cart and horse were his son's property; and that his son was doing very well for himself;-"but," said he, "I have often told him he is a foolish fellow to take so much trouble to get a living, when he might do as I do." What is that? I asked :- "Get parish pay to be sure," he replied. Although at that time my sympathies were still with the paupers, rather than with the ratepayers, yet I was amazed at the coolness of this confession; and the old pauper, thinking that I regarded the expense to which our parish would be put, assured me with an air of satisfaction that his son was not of this parish, but that he had a settlement in Wellow. I told him that it made no difference, but that he ought to be ashamed of himself for having given such advice. At a subsequent period I saw the same old man throw upon the pay table his weekly pay of five shillings, because the overseer had dared to offer it in copper! A few years afterwards the son sold his horse and cart: and. pretending that they had been stolen, he raised a subscription. and went off to America, leaving his wife and children chargeable to the parish of Wellow. Another son of the same old pauper, had for many years spent part of his time in Hinton, and part elsewhere; when at length it was discovered that he had two wives and two parishes; and that when his pay was in jeopardy in one of them, he went over to the other. He had also a soldier's pension, which, like such pensions in general, was spent in intoxicating drink. I once accidentally entered this man's dwelling in the midst of a fight between himself on the one part, and his wife and son on the other, and I saw the son striking his father with a stick. Not only did the depravity but the religious hypocrisy of the old pauper descend upon his

sons. Like him they made long and loud prayers; the one who sold his cart and horse, had a prayer meeting in his house, for the holding of which, as I was his landlord, he asked my consent. The other joined the people called ranters, but coming home one day after the receipt of his pension, in a state of intoxication, he was turned out of the society, and was denounced from the pulpit. Of this treatment he complained loudly, and asked me if that was the way in which the prodigal son in the parable was treated ?-One day when I was present at the pay table, whilst the overseer paid the poor, I saw an old woman, who lived within a hundred vards of the church, very rudely insisting upon her money. The overseer quietly requested her to wait until those who had come from distant villages had been paid. For this offence she appealed to me as the 'poor man's friend' in the following terms, "It did seem hard for a poor old soul to be turned out of the vestry like a dog." This woman had a son, who, being in the receipt of good wages, and having no wife and family, ought to have supported his mother; but he had imbibed her pauper spirit, and declared that he would not save the parish. He gave an order at the public house for his mother to have as much gin as she liked, but said he would have nothing to do with her maintenance. I visited this woman a few weeks before her death and found her in a state of senseless intoxication. The daughter of the female pauper followed the mother's example; she has frequently sold her husband's potatoes and other property, in order to obtain beer or gin for herself.

On visiting the Poor-house a short time before our change of system, I met a notorious drunkard coming out in a state of intoxication. I said, "I am sorry to see you in such a state." His reply was, "I am drunk; and I will get drunk as long as the Lord will enable me." "Yes;" he said emphatically, "I will get drunk as long as God Almighty sends me the means," The means of intoxication were afforded by the parish pay. I said. "You have already nearly destroyed a very strong constitution by drinking." He replied, "It was true, and that his breath was very short: and," added he, "I shall never be right till I have had an underground sweat." This was his usual levity on all occasions. A few months previously his wife died, and at the funeral he was in such a state, as to oblige his friends to keep him from the churchyard by force: his remark then was, "I was drunk when I was married, I was drunk when my children were christened, and I will be drunk when my wife is buried." He was intoxicated on Tuesday, December 29: on Wednesday he went to the house of his son, and had just time to say that he felt ill, when he dropped down, and after a groan, expired. A coroner's inquest sat on the following day, and brought in a verdict, "Died by the visitation of God." This man had been a pauper many years, and had probably received £100 of parish money.

In the year 1830, when there were nearly 100 persons in this parish receiving parish pay, and when the poor rates amounted nearly to £1000, with a population of only 735, I entertained great hope of improvement, from a proposal to teach the women to knit stockings. The following is an extract from the minutes of the vestry which now lie before me :- "At a vestry held at Charterhouse Hiuton, on Thursday, Feb. 18, 1830, pursuant to notice, it was agreed that the paupers of the parish shall be taught to knit stockings, and that Benjamin Smith's wife shall teach them at the hours, of from ten to twelve, and from two to four. And the overseers are authorised to purchase 12 lbs. of worsted, and 20 sets of knitting needles." This plan was carried on for a time with every prospect of success. A person in the trade engaged to purchase the stockings. In the comfortable room provided for the knitters, I visited them every day; and found that progress was made under the instructions which were given; when suddenly my expectations were annihilated by the absence of the women from the knitting room. Finding some of them collected in the street. I went amongst them, and ascertained that our wilv old paupers had told them that, "If they learned to make stockings, the next thing would be that their parish pay would be stopped; as the overseers would tell the magistrates that they were able to earn their own living." Not another stocking would they knit after this lecture on pauper philosophy. This circumstance convinced me that a statement, to which I had formerly listened with incredulity, was correct: that at the suggestion of Captain Symonds, of Hinton Abbey, spinning wheels and flax had been purchased, and yet that the women had refused to learn to spin.

With respect to the relief to be given to aged paupers, the great question is, Is it right that young persons should grow up in the conviction, that by diligence, frugality, and forethought, and by a right use of Savings' Banks, Friendly Societies, and Provident Assurance Companies, they may provide for sickness and old age? or that they should pass their youth in indolence, under the impression that their wants shall be supplied out of the property of the rich, and out of the earnings of the industrious? If the former, then must out-of-door relief be discontinued, for it teaches the opposite lesson; and places in every neighbourhood that leaven of pauperism which gradually leavens the whole lump.

8.—In the critical state in which the bitterness of political strife, and the turbulent spirit of Chartism, have placed the country, it is not expedient to carry out the principles of the New Poor Law, however sound those principles may be in the abstract.—The more intelligent of the working classes know better than this. The Chartists themselves will soon advocate the doctrines of self-support. One of their most intelligent leaders, Mr. Lovett, has declared

that, in political affairs, that which is right is expedient. If the system of pauperism is bad, it is not right to continue it: and therefore not expedient. If the object of the New Poor Law is to introduce a better system, it is right to support it: and therefore expedient. Chartist leaders are shrewd observers of men; they have made rapid progress in political science; and they are, by daily experience, becoming acquainted with the condition of the people. They have already discovered that no good can be done with men who indulge in intoxicating drinks. They have also discovered that one great obstacle in the way of political improvement is in the ignorance of the people; and they have, by the teetotal pledge, and by works on education, taken suitable steps to remove these obstacles. To an appeal to physical force the respectable Chartists were always opposed: and many of those who once advocated such savage principles, have learned that to determine their rights by means of violence, is the philosophy of brutes rather than of men. Mental power is infinitely superior to muscular force; it displays not itself in "confused noise, and garments rolled in blood." In the eloquence of persuasion, it speaks and the work is done. In the confidence of justice, it strikes terror into the oppressor. By the combination of energies, and the union of interests, it draws the people towards it; and it wins to its side the best of men by its declaration of GOOD WILL TO ALL, AND INJURY TO NONE. Engaged in a conflict so noble, honest men will soon discover the nature and tendency of pauperism. In their virtuous warfare it will be found necessary to keep on the outside of the camp those who are covered with this moral leprosy, lest the infection spread through the ranks. Kindness to vice is, in such cases, cruelty to virtue; just as to spare the thief, is to wrong the honest man. To concede the demands of a pauperised community will cause it to be still more pauperised. Every time the cure is delayed, the disease becomes more difficult to cure. The outcry is intended to frighten the Government from doing that which is right; it is not a cry for justice, but to preserve injustice. When Carrier, the Trowbridge Chartist, leaving the five points of the charter and the prayers of the national petition, addressed the mob in inflammatory language against the New Poor Law, which was neither a point in that charter, nor a prayer in that petition, his speech called forth a statement in the public papers from the Chairman of the Board of Guardians, that Carrier's father was, at that very time, receiving the full allowance of out-of-door relief. Those who receive parish pay cry aloud, as a dog growls over his bone, lest it should be tiken from him. Those who have not the full amount, cry out in order to induce the Guardians to save themselves from further annoyance by granting the request. If the riotous, the drunken, and the mendicant rabble could be examined, most of

their names would be found on the list of parish pay; and it is this that enables them to lead an idle life. Would the working classes elevate their own condition and strive to promote their country's good, let them abjure parochial relief, and let their pledge of total abstinence be—FROM PIPE, AND POT, AND PARISH PAY.

When valuable enactments in a law are repealed in order to silence popular clamour, the cowardice of such conduct, and the encouragement to the worst species of popular agitation, form the least of the evil consequences. The public mind becomes gradually reconciled to error; and the opinions of the people are gradually formed in the mould of injustice. The same process takes place in public bodies, as is described by the poet Cowper respecting private individuals:—

"Faults in the life breed errors in the brain;
And these reciprocally those again."

Whereas, a bold fight for truth and justice will either gain a victory, or leave behind it so startling a protest against error as to prevent such mischievous effects. When valuable measures that have been propounded to Parliament are, on account of opposition, too easily withdrawn, in the hope of carrying them quietly after a time, it will generally be found that, on their fresh appearance, important points have been conceded; and that the measure which is ultimately carried is destitute of those valuable clauses which distinguished the original proposition. Amongst the weapons of the christian warfare, as enumerated by the Apostle Paul, are the sword, the shield, the helmet, and the breastplate; but there is no defence provided for the back. In like manner, when the upright statesman enters the lists with extensive vested interests, and powerful monopolies, the welfare of the country depends upon his going forward. To hesitate, to fear, or to retreat, would be to betray the cause. However critical may be the state of parties, it cannot be right that Boards of Guardians should allow the worthless portion of society, by means of poor rates, to plunder the honest and industrious. It cannot be right that Poor Law Commissioners should recede from rules and orders which, in their judgment and conscience, they believe to be of essential importance. It cannot be right that Parliament should relax the law, fritter away its enactments, undo all the good that has been done, and thus reward the most pestilent of outcries. It cannot be right that the Government should shrink from the defence of those measures which they thought it their imperative duty to introduce into the legislature. The best interests, even of the enemies of the law, require that her Majesty's ministers should defend those parts of the law which are most unpopular, only because they are most effective; and that, conscious of integrity, and confident of the ultimate triumph of the rights of industry over the clamours of indolence,

they should proclaim to a pauperised people their unalterable determination to cut off the right hand of pauperism, and to pluck out its right eye, rather than suffer the whole body politic to perish.

9.—It cannot be right to punish poverty, as if it were a crime.— It is an abuse of words to call relief to the destitute, in whatever way administered, a punishment. To give relief to those who are not destitute, would be to rob the ratepayers; to relieve the destitute in such a manner as to render their situation more desirable than that of the industrious labourer, would be to promote destitution; but to afford relief to a person who will perish unless such relief be afforded, is to exercise kindness; and the various modes of relief which prudence may devise, are to be regarded as so many manifestations of benevolence, and cannot, without gross perversion of language, be denominated inflictions of punishment. A wretched being, of sottish habits, asks relief: his ragged dress and pallid countenance excite our compassion; we would gladly restore him to health, and put decent clothing upon his person, but our knowledge of the man assures us that if we give him money, it will be spent in intoxicating drinks; but if, instead of giving him a weekly allowance of money, or of articles, which he can convert into money, we provide a maintenance for him in a suitable refuge for the destitute, we ensure thereby that wholesome food and good clothing which he would not procure for himself. An aged woman died, in the metropolis, of starvation, and an inquest was held on the body. It appeared in evidence that she was so inveterate a gin-drinker, that her weekly allowance from the parish had always been spent in gin on the very day in which it was received; and that consequently she had nothing to live upon during the rest of the week. Under these circumstances, she died of starvation. Mr. Wakley, the coroner, stated that no blame attached to any party; and that it was difficult to know how to treat such a pauper. The Board of Guardians, being aware of her drinking propensities, would have taken her into the workhouse, but as she declared, in the usual language of such characters, that she would rather die than go there, they had complied with her wishes, and granted her the full amount of out-of-door relief. As the parish pay was consumed in gin, and therefore only hurtful to her, would it not have been a greater kindness to the poor woman to have offered relief only in the workhouse, which offer, but for the weekly excitement of the gin, she would very soon have accepted? Would such offer of the workhouse have been equivalent to the punishment of poverty as a crime? And if it is not so in the instance of a person of known habits of drunkenness, can it be so in cases of supposed habits of drunkenness? And if, on the most careful inquiry, and on the most moderate calculation, three-fourths of

pauperism may be attributed to this habit of drinking, is not the supposition so far probable as to justify the offer of the workhouse in doubtful cases? If, in every new application, past experience teaches us that the chances that the parties have been brought to destitution by strong drink are as three to one; and if even when it is not so induced, there is no hardship in offering to the destitute a home with the necessaries of life regularly provided for them; if we did not offer such home, would it not be to commit a great injury to three persons through the fear of committing a small injury to one? The mode of relief prescribed by scripture is, "To deal thy BREAD TO THE HUNGRY, and THAT THOU BRING THE POOR THAT ARE CAST OUT TO THY HOUSE; when thou seest the NAKED, THAT THOU COVER HIM." Isaiah 58, 7. If the Guardians distribute the bounty of the public in the place of each individual, then does this direction apply equally to them: they are to relieve by giving wholesome food; by bringing the poor to the house which the ratepayers have provided; and there to clothe the naked.

They who administer relief must be permitted to give such relief as the circumstances of the givers and of the receivers render most desirable. "Beggars must not be choosers;" especially if they usually choose that which is hurtful to themselves. Who would give a razor to a man that wanted to cut his throat? or a rope to a man that wanted to hang himself? Is it not unreasonable to call the denial of that which is injurious, and the offer of that which is beneficial, a punishment? It is said that when "there was a sore famine in Samaria, and when Jezebel cut off the prophets of the Lord, Obadiah took a hundred prophets, and hid them by fifties in a cave, and fed them with bread and water."-1 Kings, 18, 4. Did he treat poverty as a crime? This subject has been aptly illustrated by one of our ablest writers on Poor Laws. He says, "Suppose a man shipwrecked, and on a raft without food; suppose a boat in sight, having regard to the state of its own provisions, bestows upon him only biscuits and water, would not the man thus saved be called a monster who denied that being thus preserved was a benefit, or who complained that because he did not receive meat and beer from his relievers, he was punished and ill used? But relief in the workhouse, which every individual will be gladly permitted to leave so soon as he can obtain the means of self-support, is called imprisonment. It is said he is compelled to go into a workhouse. At this rate, every seaman who, for the sake of a livelihood, is compelled to go to sea, is imprisoned, punished for his poverty with the additional infliction of being made liable to be drowned. So the ease of the soldier. Every honest labourer is 'confined,' compelled to be at the place where he works, i. e., imprisoned. The lawyer is imprisoned to his desk; the boarding-school boy to his school. Poverty is relieved, though

it generally arises from improvidence, and sometimes from crime; it is only not rewarded."

10 .- In other departments officers are elected in consequence of their skill in their respective departments, whether they be of science, commerce, law, or medicine; and in like manner those who administer relief to the poor ought to be pre-eminent for their humanity; whereas, under the New Poor Law, the Commissioners, Guardians, and Relieving officers, act as the protectors of the rate payers rather than as FRIENDS TO THE POOR .- In the distribution of his own money the generous man may indulge his feelings of compassion according to his own discretion; but he that relieves out of the funds placed at his disposal by other men, especially if some of those men be themselves almost destitute, and if their money is taken from them by force, has two duties to perform: to do justly to the ratepayer, and to love mercy to the poor. His charity ought to be so judiciously exercised as to effect the greatest amount of good to the poor with the least amount of oppression to the ratepayer. Every shilling of poor rates that is given to persons whose circumstances do not justify their becoming a burden upon society; or to persons whose habits of life are such as to lead them to use such relief for the gratification of their vicious propensities, is a robbery committed upon the ratepayers. The truly generous man not only relieves at his own cost, but his mode of relief is unostentatious; whereas, he who obtains relief for the poor out of the poor rates obtains in their eyes the whole credit of that relief to which he contributes, perhaps, not more than a thousandth part; with public funds the miser can afford to be liberal, and the churl to be bountiful. As the greatest frauds have been committed under the sacred name of religion, so the greatest cruelties have been perpetrated under the beautiful form of charity. The conduct of the enemies of the New Poor Law in their private circle, in their worldly avocations, and in their political parties, has clearly shewn that the pretenders to humanity are, in general, more than ordinarily selfish and tyrannical; and in these days in which it is most common for meu who are entirely destitute of feeling, to step forth as the champions of the poor, it becomes necessary to regard, with great suspicion, such pretensions. Charity is consistent with itself; it breathes good will to men, and out of its mouth cannot come both blessing and cursing. He that loves his neighbour as himself does not separate society into two classes, regarding the one with love and pity, while he looks upon the other with hatred and contempt. Yet this is the one-sided benevolence of the opponents of the New Poor Law. They were, doubtless, friends to the poor who sanctioned, at the cost of the rate payers, the following expenditure in a certain workhouse under the old law:--

There is a town in Somersetshire which has four Guardians to represent its interests in the Union in which it has been incorporated under the New Poor Law; a year or two since three guardians out of the four were brewers and sellers of beer. Under the old system there were in the select vestry of Morpeth, which consisted of twenty members, eleven who were either brewers or sellers of beer; and, of the remaining nine, several had relations amongst the paupers. If then the above abstract of workhouse expenditure were laid before such a body of men as the four guardians of the town in Somersetshire, or the select vestry of Morpeth, is it probable that the humane brewers would object to the charge of £440 for beer and ale? Would the humane butchers complain of the charge of £1694 for butchers' meat? Would they complain of the humane treatment of the poor in the workhouse of St. Giles, in Reading, in which 62 inmates consumed, in 13 weeks, as much meat as 738 agricultural labourers could obtain in the same time by their labour? or of the workhouse in Lambeth in which they had not only plenty of meat, beer, butter, and sugar, but a variety of feasts, called peafeasts, bean-feasts, mutton-feasts, plum pudding-feasts? or of the workhouse of Newington, in which the master was obliged to give to the inmates salmon and mackerel when in season? There have been many instances of such humanity under the New Poor Law: one of which may suffice. An overseer, availing himself of the privilege allowed him by law, "to give such temporary relief as each case may require, in articles of absolute necessity but not in money," complained that when he had given such temporary relief, the Board of Guardians refused to repay him. And what does the reader think were the articles of absolute necessity given by this overseer, in cases so extremely urgent as not to permit of waiting for the visit of a relieving officer, or for an application to the Guardians? They were "Tea and Sugar!" And what does the reader further conjecture respecting the occupation of this humane overseer? He was a grocer!

This perpetration of shameful injustice to the ratepayers, under the pretence of charity to the poor, is well exposed in

THE POOR LAW GUARDIANS' SONG.*

1

Says Poor-Law Guardian Robbery To Poor-Law Guardian Charity, What if you and I should agree To rob our neighbour Industry, And divide his ill-gotten property Among our dear children three, Improvidence, Sloth, and Beggary?

^{*} Taken from "The Marriage of the Princess Evil, an Historical Romance," about to be published by a gentleman of Dublin.

2.

Says Poor-Law Guardian Charity
To Poor-Law Guardian Robbery,
I like your proposal mightily;
I always had an antipathy
To that sturdy fellow, Industry;
He's quite too independent for me,
So robbed and plundered he shall be,
And his goods divided among our children three,
Improvidence, Sloth, and Beggary.

3

Says Poor-Law Guardian Robbery
To Poor-Law Guardian Charity,
I cannot express my joy to see
How ready you are to combine with me
Against our common enemy,
That stickler for the rights of property,
That foe to 'General Community',
Stubborn, uncompromising Industry.
So robbed and plundered he shall be,
And his goods divided among our children three,
Improvidence, Sloth, and Beggary.

4

We had better proceed cautiously,
Says Poor-Law Guardian Charity,
For a powerful fellow is Industry,
And his house he'll defend manfully,
With the help of his watch-dog, Honesty;
But robbed and plundered he shall be,
Or what will become of our children three,
Improvidence, Sloth, and Beggary?

5.

I have a crow-bar, says Robbery; Six bundred and eight and fifty Jobbing smiths forged it for me, And I call it my Legality. It will break in his door, though strong it be, And knock out the brains of his dog Honesty.

6.

And when we are in, says Charity, We'll bind hand and foot Master Industry, With this rope of injustice and cruelty, Which public opinion has lent to me, And we'll seize upon all his property, And divide it among our children three, Improvidence, Sloth, and Beggary.

7

Then away went the Guardians in company, And a pleasanter sight you could not see Than Robbery linked with Charity. And they took the crow-bar, Legality, And the rope of injustice and cruelty, And broke open the door of Industry.

And knocked out the brains of his dog, Honesty,
And bound himself like a thief for the gallows tree,
And blinded his eyes, that he might not see,
While they plundered his house of his property,
To divide among their children three,
Improvidence, Sloth, and Beggary.

11 .- The laws of modern times, and especially the New Poor Law, bear more severely upon the poor than the laws of our ancestors, and especially the Poor Law of Queen Elizabeth .- This is a mistake. Those parts of the old Poor Law which gave out-of-door relief to persons at their own houses, and those which empowered the magistrates to compel the overseers to give such relief, were not part of Queen Elizabeth's Poor Law, but were introduced into it less than fifty years ago. The object of these additional enactments was not to promote the poor man's good, but to increase the population for the supply of the army. Parish pay was given to parents for each of their children, in order that those children might grow up to occupy the place of the dead, and might stand in the ranks to shoot, and to be shot at. Nor did the Poor Law of Queen Elizabeth originate in compassion for the poor. It was enacted merely for the purpose of getting rid of a nuisance. The monasteries, which had sustained large numbers of idle mendicants, were destroyed by Elizabeth's father; and the property was divided amongst the nobility. The supply of mendicancy being thus taken away, whilst the mendicant habits remained, the country was infested with disorderly vagrants; and the government took from the people, in the shape of poor rates, a fund for their support.

In order to prove that the laws of former ages were not particularly mild, I shall make a few extracts from the statutes of those times. † In the year 1888, in the reign of Richard the Second, a law was passed prohibiting "any labourer from departing from the hundred, city, or borough, where he is dwelling, without a testimonial showing reasonable cause for his going; any labourer found wandering without such letter, to be put into the stocks." In the year 1531, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the justices were directed to assign to the impotent poor a limit, within which they were to beg. "An impotent person, begging out of his limit, to be imprisoned for two days and nights in the stocks, and fed on bread and water, and then sworn to return to the place in which he is authorised to beg. An ablebodied beggar to be whipped, and sworn to return to the place where he was born, or where he last dwelt, for the space of three years, and there put himself to labour." Five years after, a statute, confirming the preceding, ordered the head officers of

⁺ On this subject see "Letters to working people on the New Poor Law, by a Working Man."

every city, shire, town, and parish, to keep their respective poor. "Every preacher, parson, vicar, and curate, as well in their sermons, collections, biddings of beads, as in the time of confession and making of wills, is to exhort, move, and provoke people to be liberal for the impotent, and setting and keeping to work the said sturdy vagabonds; the money so collected to be kept in a box in the church. Almsgiving, other than to fellow parishioners, prohibited on forfeiture of ten times the amount given." The law further enacts, that "a sturdy beggar is to be whipped, the first time; his right ear cropped, the second time; and if he offend the third time, to suffer death as a felon." These were the good old times in which laws relating to the poor were so much more merciful than the New Poor Law!

In the year 1547, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, it was enacted, "that any able-bodied poor person, who does not apply himself to some honest labour, or offer to serve even for meat and drink, if nothing more is to be obtained, shall be taken as a vagabond, branded on the shoulder with the letter V, and adjudged a slave for two years to any person who shall demand him; to be fed on bread and water and refuse meat, and caused to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise. If he run away within that period, he is to be branded on the cheek with the letter S, and adjudged a slave for life. If no man demand such loiterer, he is to be sent to the place where he says he was born, there to be kept, in chains, at the highways or common work, or from man to man, as the slave of the inhabitants."

And now for the boasted mercies of Queen Elizabeth's reign. A statute of 1572 begins with this recital :- "That all the parts of this realm of England be presently with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered, by means whereof daily happeneth horrible murders, thefts, and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almighty God and to the great annovance of the common weal." And it enacts, "That all persons hereafter set forth as rogues and vagabonds, or sturdy beggars, shall, for the first offence, be grievously whipped, and BURNT THROUGH THE GRISTLE OF THE RIGHT EAR WITH A HOT IRON OF THE COMPASS OF AN INCH ABOUT: for the second, be deemed felons; and for the third, suffer DEATH as felons." Another statute of Queen Elizabeth directs that "all wandering persons and common labourers, being personsable in body, using loitering, and refusing to work for such reasonable wages as is commonly given in such part where such person shall happen to abide, shall be openly whipped until his body be bloody. Such rogues as will not be reformed of their wandering lives, may be committed to gaol, and transported beyond the seas, or made galley slaves of for life."

"In the reign of Queen Mary, 1553, the dwellings of the common people, according to Erasmus, had not yet attained the con-

venience of a chimney to let out the smoke; and the flooring of their huts was nothing but the bare ground: their beds consisted of straw, among which was an accumulation of filth and refuse, with a block of wood for a pillow; and their food was rye, barley, and oats."

Harrison informs us that Henry the 8th executed the laws with such rigour that "72,000 great and petty thieves were put to death during his reign," a space of 30 years. He adds, that even in Elizabeth's reign, "rogues were trussed up apace;" and that "there was not one year commonly wherein 300 or 400 of them was not devoured by the gallows; and that every part of the kingdom was intested by idle vagabonds and robbers, who, refusing to labour, lived by plundering the peaceable inhabitants; and often strolling about in bodies of some hundreds, attacked, with impunity, the sheep folds, and the dwellings of the people."

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OBJECTIONS

TO THE

NEW POOR LAW

ANSWERED.

PART III.

CONTAINING REMARKS UPON THE ADDRESS OF

SIR GEORGE CREWE, BART.,

TO THE CONSTITUENCY OF THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF DERBY.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and a Guardian of the Bath Union.

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OBJECTIONS TO THE NEW POOR LAW ANSWERED.

PART III.

Objection 12.—Under the New Poor Law the rights of the ratepayers are taken away by the guardians being placed under the control of the Poor Law Commissioners, under whose rules and regu-

lations injustice and cruelty are inflicted upon the poor.

The outcry against the New Poor Law has proceeded chiefly from "the lewd fellows of the baser sort:" from the keepers of beer shops and gin shops, at which parish pay was formerly expended; from the editors of newspapers, which, being destitute of sterling merit, seek by alarming articles to gain a profitable notoriety; from coroners, who seek to keep the public mind in perpetual excitement on the horrible cruelties of the New Poor Law, in order to increase the demand for inquests held over the bodies of the dead; and from base and unprincipled men, who contrive to lift themselves into parliament by the lever of Poor Law hypocrisy. There are, however, other persons, honourable in name and elevated in station, who have lent their influence to this degraded cause; and amongst the respectable class of opponents may be ranked Sir George Crewe, Bart. late M.P. for South Derbyshire; who, at a time when all parties were looking forward to a general election, addressed a letter to his constituents expressing the most superficial views and containing the most unsound sentiments. The most charitable construction that can be put upon it is, that the mind of the writer was at the time under a powerful political bias; influenced in part by the exaggerated statements contained in the public papers, and in part by the doubtful result of the next election in the return of himself, or of one of his political party, to represent the electors of South Derbyshire in the House of Commons. The letter of Sir George Crewe having appeared in the London papers, is clearly open to comment from all quarters; but being addressed "to the Constituency of the Southern Division of the County of Derby," I shall not be stepping out of my way, if, as one of the electors thus addressed, I offer a few remarks upon it.

Sir George Crewe declares the present system of Poor Law management to be "injurious to the welfare, and subversive of the rights of the ratepayers; degrading, unjust, and cruel towards the poor;" and, in order to induce the electors to petition against the re-

enactment of the present regulations, he puts to them the three fol-

lowing questions:-

"Are you willing, from the great benefit you have already experienced under the New Poor Law, to give up your own right of the administration of those funds to the Government Commissioners, whose power shall be supreme, whether agreeing or disagreeing with you in judgment of what is right and necessary?

"Secondly—Has the temporary suspension of your rights proved the superiority of the skill of the Board of Somerset House in the management of your poor so clearly, that you are ready to give up at once the direction to them, and willing yourselves to be only the

executive in silent obedience to their control?

"Thirdly—On the other hand, have you not felt, that, however eligible the plan of Commissioners in the establishment of the New Law, their aid is no longer wanting to the good management of your unions, and the expense necessary for their maintenance is therefore a burden which you are no longer willing to bear?"

Sir George Crewe hopes they will agree with him, "that the control of the Commissioners has proved itself rather an obstruction than otherwise to your own exertions; that it has prevented the satisfactory carrying out of the law for the benefit of the poor, you will then be mindful, that now is the time to signify your opinions by

your petition to both Houses of Parliament."

The Poor Law Commissioners have, it appears, been an obstruction; but there are shrewd lookers on who have discovered that this obstruction has not been in the way of the people's benefit, but of Sir George Crewe's ambition. Sir George was desirous of obtaining a small pocket union, over which, by means of his station and property, he might reign lord paramount; but the Poor Law Commissioners, in their regard to the general welfare, refused to comply with his wishes,

and proved an obstruction.

But the people's rights have been surrendered to the central board! The ratepayers have suffered a temporary suspension of their rights! Of what rights? Of the right to have their money squandered by irresponsible overseers? Of the right to have the judgment of a conscientious overseer and the opinions of intelligent ratepayers set at nought by irresponsible magistrates? The rights of the ratepayers before the New Poor Law were small indeed; and, except the right of paying poor rates, not worth surrendering. But there were magistrates who, reversing the scripture maxim, were a praise to evil doers and a terror to them that do well! In the abuse of their power consisted some of the chief evils of the old Poor Law. The worst of men, if his manner were submissive and his tale plausible, could prevail upon such magistrates to make an order upon the overseer whom he had summoned to appear before them, to grant a weekly pension; which pension, taken by force from the industrious, was spent by the

idle in strong drink. The ratepayers, it is true, elected the overseers of the poor, and those overseers had power to act according to their own judgment so long as that judgment coincided with the wishes of those who applied for relief; but paupers are not always the best of men, or the most reasonable in their demands; and when the overseer dared to differ in opinion, when he did not give satisfaction to those idle men whose claims he refused, they instantly threatened to bring him before his betters. When by feigned humiliation the vanity of the magistrate was flattered, when he was appealed to as the Poor Man's Friend, and approached with profound reverence, as though he were a demigod, the rights of the ratepayers, in their representative the overseer, became evanescent, and the only rights which remained were those of the magistrate, who exercised the important right of treating with contempt the overseer and the ratepayers, and of shewing his own superior humanity by ordering a liberal allowance at their expense. By this right, the worst of men were placed in a more eligible situation than their well conducted neighbours; and thus a premium was given to idleness and a reward to crime. The following are the words of an order made by certain magistrates of the county of Hertford, in the case of Robert Reed, whose wife was sent to prison for theft; and the reader will be able to judge whose rights had been suspended before an order so iniquitous could have been made:--

Herts, \(\begin{aligned} "To the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of the \(\text{Poor of the Poor of the P

to wit. \ Parish of Royston, in the said County.

*** "Whereas it appears to us, that the wife of the said Robert Reed is now confined in the House of Correction, at Cambridge, and that he is put to considerable expense in providing a person to look after his said five children; we do therefore order the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the said parish to pay unto the said Robert Reed the sum of eleven shillings weekly and every week, for and

towards the support and maintenance of himself and family."

The risk attending the expenditure of the poor rates by an overseer was great enough; especially when, as in North Devon, one-fourth of the overseers could neither read nor write. Almost every parish book contained charges which could never have been made, had the ratepayers possessed suitable means of controlling the expenditure. In one parish, an intelligent gentleman informs us, that he found the sum of £54. 5s. 10d. charged to the poor rate for killing sparrows: he ascertained that, "they were paid for at the rate of three pence per dozen, and, consequently, there must have been 52,120 sparrows, which, allowing twelve sparrows to weigh one pound, would make the weight of the whole 4,343 pounds, or three good horse loads of 1,444 pounds each." But how much greater was the risk to the rate-payers, when the overseer himself, in his endeavour to prevent imposition, and to keep down the poor rates, was perpetually thwarted by

the arbitrary commands of the magistrates! Thomas Walker, esq., police magistrate of the metropolis, declares that it was "extremely unfitting to submit men, freely elected by their fellow citizens, to the control of individual magistrates; a feeling of independence is absolutely necessary to the manly discharge of public duty; any system of interference is a mockery of freedom, childish in conception,

arbitrary and debasing in effect."

This right to interfere with the ratepayers, this right to command the overseer and to patronize the pauper, was often exercised by Sir George Crewe. Whenever he rode out amongst the poor, there were admiring eyes which looked upon him as the "poor man's friend," and the poor man's magistrate. But as this power, patronage, and popularity, were all at the cost of the ratepayers, and not of Sir George himself, the legislature very properly took away the right; and this act Sir George describes by a slight figure of speech, as a suspension of the rights of the ratepayers. Had we not known that the inhabitants of Derbyshire possess at least an average share of intelligence, we might have suspected that Sir George was aware that he was addressing men of great stupidity; since he must have known that, formerly, parochial affairs were under the management of overseers and magistrates; whereas, at the present time, they are in the hands of guardians chosen annually by the people, every ratepayer having a right to nominate and to vote; and that the guardians actually represent the ratepayers, and in their name

grant or reject the applications which are made to them.

If the interference of the magistrates with the overseers be condemned, how can the interference of the Poor Law Commissioners with the guardians be approved? For the very same reason. magistrates exercised a controlling power over the overseers only to increase pauperism and to increase the poor rates; the Poor Law Commissioners exercise a controlling power only to check pauperism and to prevent a lavish expenditure of poor rates. The public good is best sought by taking from the magistrates the power which they so injuriously exercised against the ratepayers, and by giving and preserving to the Poor Law Commissioners the power which they so beneficially exercise for the ratepayers. The magistrates in their separate localities were too liable to the influence of a popularity acquired at the expense of their neighbours; the guardians of the poor may be under a similar influence; moreover both magistrates and guardians might be deterred from the course which sound principle would dictate by the odium which they would incur from the more worthless portion of the poor, and by the clamour of interested parties in the neighbourhood in which they live; and it is in such cases a great relief to have a legal enactment or an order from the central board to fall back upon in their defence; whereas the Poor Law Commissioners, being removed from these localities, and uninfluenced by the prospect of applause or odium from the class respecting whom they make their regulations, are more likely to make such

regulations according to justice and for the general welfare.

Much has been said respecting the absolute power exercised by the central board; and it is not uncommon to describe them as despotic tyrants. Having had some personal knowledge of the manner in which the commissioners conduct themselves, and having during two years' management of the affairs of this parish, before the formation of the Bath Union, and during a period of more than five years as a guardian of the Bath Union, had many opportunities of observing their proceedings, I can state my opinion to be, that there is, in every important case on which they have to decide, a feeling of deep responsibility; but that they are under no inducement whatever to gratify the feelings of caprice or to manifest a spirit of despotism. The language which I expressed in the year 1836, when chairman of the board, I can still maintain; and though I have occasionally disapproved of their conduct, and have regretted their decisions, yet I have had no reason to retract one word of the following extract from the letter which I then wrote:- "Let the responsibility be upon the Board of Guardians, under the guidance of the Commissioners, and all will work well. We have almost every week to consult the Central Board, and their communications are invariably received with the greatest interest and respect. This control we covet, and could wish its power greater; for we feel no power over us but the power to do good. We complain of a want of power in them; but there is no inducement whatever for them to make an arbitrary use of power. It would neither promote their interest nor their popularity. We want full authority for all our proceedings when right, and a check if wrong; and the thought of such a power above us is our comfort and our stay. We look to it as to our compass and our anchor; and in every difficulty, whether arising from ignorance or inexperience, or from party spirit within the board, or from popular excitement without, we should immediately appeal to them for direction and information, and, if necessary, for the exercise of their authority. As to the senseless outcry respecting the expense of the New Poor Law, one parish in our Union has already saved more than £20 a-week, or £1000 a-year, in its expenditure, and the savings of the whole Union would several times over pay the expenses of the assistant commissioner, who has so often, and with so much good effect, attended at our meetings; and I should conceive that the saving of all the Unions of one large county would pay all the expenses of the whole commission, with all its officers and servants. Can this objection be honestly made?"

It may be fairly objected that this is only the opinion of one Guardian. I will therefore make an extract from a declaration agreed to unanimously by the whole Board of Guardians of the Bath Union;

a Union comprising a population, according to the census of 1831, of 64,000 persons, and a Board containing forty-one elected Guardians

and ten county Magistrates who are Guardians ex-officio.

"That this Board cannot adequately express their sense of the great advantages they derive from the guidance and the control of the Central Board in London; the privilege of consulting the Commissioners in all cases of difficulty, and of referring to their authority when there exists a difference of opinion amongst themselves, has been found to be one of the greatest benefits conferred upon them by the new system.

"That not only by official correspondence have the Board derived advantages from the concentrated intelligence and enlarged experience possessed by the Commissioners, but also by the frequent presence of an Assistant Commissioner, who, with the greatest urbanity, has answered questions, put to him by the Board, explained doubtful points of the law, and given most valuable advice in what-

ever measures were in contemplation.

"That whilst a large discretionary power is vested in the Board of Guardians in deciding the cases of paupers and in electing officers, the general rules issued by the Commissioners, and their sanction of the persons and salaries of the officers, afford a well-devised safeguard against the ignorance and inexperience of the Guardians themselves.

"That the authority of the Central Board can alone secure uniformity of proceeding in the various districts of the kingdom, and prevent that discontent which inevitably arises amongst the poor of a well-regulated parish, when the management of the poor in a neigh-

bouring parish is at variance with sound principles.

"That in all matters connected with the conduct or character of any of the officers of the Union, the Board do not merely appreciate the weight that must ever attach to the judgment of persons holding stations of such vast public responsibility, but they recognise in the Central Board the only tribunal of appeal that is divested of local

interests and party passions.

"That it would not have occurred to the Board to make the present declaration of their sentiments, had they not seen in some of the London papers reports of speeches delivered at public meetings, convened for the purpose of addressing the Secretary of State against the New Poor Law, some of which speeches, purporting to come from Guardians of Unions, contain statements utterly at variance with fact and sound principle.

"That as the danger attendant upon such mischievous declarations arises entirely from the lamentable ignorance of the people, as to the true nature and intent of the New Poor Law, and of the real character and conduct of its chief functionaries, the Commissioners, this Board deem it their bounden duty to counteract the evil, as far as the weight of their testimony may have influence, by this expression of their

sentiments; and by asserting the deep conviction of their minds, that the New Poor Law, under the judicious superintendence of the Commissioners, will promote prudent and moral habits amongst the working classes, and the prosperity of all.

"Signed and sealed, by order of the Board,

"C. Brown, Clerk."

The Board of Guardians, from which the above address emanated, was composed of four clergymen, four military and naval officers, four gentlemen of the legal and medical professions, and the rest private

gentlemen, tradesmen, and farmers.

In proceeding with the Address of Sir George Crewe, we next come to an error so flagrant, and to advice so suspicious, as to render it difficult to know whether it arises from ignorance or intention. He says, "On this subject, I would address myself to another class of my constituents who are in the singular position of being at once ratepayers and persons for whose relief the rate is raised. I mean the great mass of the working classes, who are upon this occasion, or ought to be, especially represented by the members of the House of Commons. Have you felt the operation of the law to be beneficial in producing an increase of regular means for your support, and employment for your industry, and kind considerate assistance in the hour of need? If so, you are content the Bill, as proposed, should pass. But if, on the other hand, you have felt that the law was unjust, inasmuch as it made no distinction between poverty by idleness, poverty by extravagance, poverty by drunkenness and crime, and the poverty which came by the hand of the Almighty, in misfortune, in losses, in sickness and death. If you have felt, that these evils would have been remedied by those who knew your case, who were the best judges of the facts of the case, and would have done you justice, had they not been over-ruled, you will then exercise your right of petition, and respectfully lay before Parliament your grievances, praying for redress, in the passing of the new law."

The electors of South Derbyshire must be well aware that the moment they receive parochial relief they are disfranchised. Does Sir George wish his constituents to become so enamoured of the pay table as to forfeit their right to vote? It is scarcely possible; and yet such a line of policy has been pursued in some places. In the early years of the New Poor Law there was a paid agent of the party to which Sir George Crewe belongs, who made himself very conspicuous as the "Poor Man's Friend," and by his incessant applications obtained relief for many poor persons; but when the Revising Barrister held his court in the town, the same agent appeared against his victims, and caused their names to be struck off the list of voters.

Supposing, however, that there were no votes to lose, is this the way to elevate the working classes, by directing their attention to that kind of relief which renders them abject and dependant?—to those

parish gifts, which blind the eyes of the receiver to all that is honourable and just? A tyrant may regard the poor as an inferior order of being; and if they will lie low in the dust before him, and acknowledge themselves to be dependant on his favour, he may graciously deign to be kind to them, as he would to his spaniel; but the man of true humanity regards the poor as fellow immortals, responsible to God for their actions, and having to give an account of their stewardship, and as equally with himself under the general law, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." When the true friend to the poor sees a man lay down the tools of industry, and eat the bread of idleness; when he sees him improvident in youth, and intending to live upon the property of others in his old age, he grieves over the mischief which the man does to himself, and over the loss of his productive labour to society; and instead of encouraging him to seek a subsistence so degrading, he urges him to "mind his own business and eat his own bread;" he tells him that to take from the ratepayer his hard earnings, when he might provide food and raiment for himself, is no better than robbery, and in order to rouse his energies to a course of honest industry, frugality, and forethought, he addresses him in the language of the Apostle, "Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." Ephes. iv. 28. If there is not work of one sort, he urges him to turn to other employment; and if there is not work in one parish or country, he advises him to remove to another, for the whole earth is under the protection of Providence, and he has given it to be possessed and subdued by man; but he will not encourage him to be a burden to his fellow-creatures.

In advising them to petition for redress, Sir George Crewe uses language which, had it come from Mr. O'Connell, would have been charged with conveying a hint to do the opposite. He says, "Don't meet tumultuously; don't talk about BASTILES and PAUPER PRISONS, because nobody could imagine the workhouse erected with any such purpose or intention." But the following advice is excellent: "State simply your grievances where you feel it, and urge the redress of that grievance. Claim the protection of your representatives, for now is the time in which it will be proved whether or no they are your representatives who claim to be so." Will the conduct of Sir George, or of his political friends in the house, abide this test? The ratepaying clauses of the Reform Bill, and the perpetual annoyance to which the voter was liable in the registration courts, were a grievance; did he extend the shield of his protection? The more intelligent portion of the working classes felt it to be a grievance to be deprived of a voice in the election of Members of Parliament; did he come forth as their protector? Those who had votes were afraid to use them, because of the threats and vindictive proceedings of their powerful neighbours; did he protect them and demand in their name the Ballot? They suffered from the stagnation in trade and the high price of provisions; did he ask for an inquiry into the Corn Laws? Did he ask for cheap bread and cheap sugar? Is there any thing which is really a grievance to working men, which the party which Sir George supports have endeavoured to remove. The heavy postage of letters was a great grievance to the poor: it prevented the father from corresponding with his children, and the poor man from keeping up any intercourse with his distant friends, whilst the rich could send their letters free, or at a cost that did not affect them. The Liberal ministry reduced these charges, and introduced the present admirable Penny Postage; but what say the friends of Sir G. Crewe? They say, "the former charges must shortly be restored, and the poor must pay this tax, or else there will be a property tax to be

paid by the rich."

Are these the proofs of regard to the working classes and of pity to the poor? The people ask for JUSTICE, and Sir George Crewe offers them CHARITY. They wish to trust in their own industry, with the aid of Divine Providence, knowing wel lthat "Heaven helps them that help themselves;" but Sir George advocates principles which render the people dependant upon the property and caprice of their fellow-creatures; and when the laws which he supports have made them poor, he pretends to pity their poverty; and lest they should discover the real cause of all their sorrows, he with the most ingenuous candour, teaches the ignorant how to make known their sufferings; he says, "Your chief complaint will probably be this:-That by the present law, poverty is rendered, if not a crime, at least a disgrace, and that equally, whether it came through fault or by misfortune under the permission of Providence." The few who are enriched by laws which make the many poor, are anxious when the many are hunting after the foe that torments them, to put them on the wrong scent; and in order to induce them to bear their sufferings patiently, they give them a sop to silence discontent, taking care, however, that even this sop is not provided at the expense of the enriched few, but out of the funds of the many who by them are impoverished. That mode of relief, therefore, which will most effectually keep the people quiet whilst this system is in operation, is most approved by those in whose favour the system operates. That mode is, out of door relief to the poor in weekly pensions at their own homes. The system of out of door relief is largely acted upon under the New Poor Law, so largely indeed as to place the leaven of pauperism in every locality. In the Bath Union, for instance, about £100 a-week, or £5,000 a-year have been paid to the poor in out of door relief; and in most Unions in a much larger proportion than this. Yet it seldom suits those who would turn the unpopularity of the New Poor Law to their own party purposes, to inform the people of this fact; on the contrary,

they are perpetually asserting that the only relief given under the New Poor Law is in the Union Workhouses. Although Sir George Crewe has in a preceding part of his Address, recommended his constituents to "indulge in no violence of expression-no general sweeping denunciations of abuse;" yet he forgets in his practice his own wholesome precepts; and with the fact of large numbers of cases of out of door relief before his eyes, and with the power in his own hands, in the case of those who are wholly unable to work, to order such out of door relief, in defiance of the Board of Guardians and of the Poor Law Commissioners, he says, "This is caused by the determination to adapt one principle of relief only to all classes of persons in need; a principle, in my judgment, as cruel and unjust as it is manifestly unwise and impolitic; for it confounds all distinction of character, and visits the sins of the guilty upon the innocent and unoffending." And again, he says, "The system of relief by the workhouse only, as rigidly insisted upon by the Board at Somerset House and its Assistant Commissioners, stands charged with these oppressive effects upon the poor." Has the writer of such statements ever attended the meetings of the Board in his capacity of guardian ex-officio? Has he ever read the Poor Law Amendment Act?

Sir George then informs his readers that his opposition is not only to details in practice, but that his is "a struggle in defence of a great principle; and that principle is charity." He then defines the term charity according to his own acceptation, and in so doing establishes a claim on any pauperising government which may hereafter exist, to the office of PAUPER MAKER GENERAL. The following is his definition of charity:—" Charity; not the mere niggardly doling out of support for animal existence to the destitute, as might be justified by stern and unavoidable pressure of poverty throughout all ranks of the people; but the principle which under that name constitutes the tie and bond of all social connexion between man and his fellow man; a principle whose spirit ought as dearly to be recognised in the legal provision for destitute poverty by the State at large, as in the administration of charitable beneficence in private, or in combination with others, apart from Parliamentary interference; that principle which lays down this rule for itself, that the administration of relief to the unfortunate and the destitute shall never be rendered painful to the recipient, by conditions which at once degrade his character in his own eyes, and in those of his neighbour; and thus unnecessarily wound his feelings, or what is worst of all, leave to the sober, industrious, respectable poor man, only the alternative of submission to disgrace, or starvation in silence. This is the only principle of a Poor Law to which I can assent, because it is the only one which the Law of God, or my duty to my neighbour admits of." This would indeed soon pauperise the whole community. The injudicious benevolence of a private individual is bad enough, but it

has its counteracting check in the cost of it to the individual himself. But if public funds were placed at the disposal of persons whose ideas of charity coincide with those which are given in the preceding extract, they would render it far more easy for the labouring man to live upon the property of others than by his own labour and toil. This is the only principle Sir George declares that his "duty to his neighbour" will admit of. When parochial relief is to be administered in the manner by him recommended, it would be well if the administrators of it would leave out of the Church Catechism that part of the answer to the question, "What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?" which teaches the child "not to covet nor desire other men's goods; but to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me;" and to substitute for the use of the poor the following-to covet and desire other men's goods; to learn without labour to get the legal provision for destitute poverty by the State at large, and to shew my respect to those who so administer this relief as not to render it painful to the recipient; who will not unnecessarily wound my feelings, but who will treat me as a person ought to be treated in that state of life unto which it hath pleased God to call me.

Does Sir George forget that there are such persons as impostors? Does he throw aside all that the Scripture says of the indolence and depravity of human nature? Would he teach a man that because he is not in possession of wealth he will not have to give account of what he has done for himself, but only of what others have done for him? Or does he think it so easy without the test of a workhouse or the pressure of some necessity, to distinguish between the various applicants for relief? Is he not aware that there is nothing more difficult than to ascertain the real circumstances of a man who, in endeavouring to establish his claim to a weekly pension, is giving

evidence in his own behalf.

In whatever place parochial relief has been thus freely given, it has been found that all the working classes have gradually become pauperised; and that persons of every other class have become partakers in the abuses of parish funds. Not only were there whole hosts of parish shopkeepers, parish lawyers, parish doctors, and parish jobbers of every description, but the country squire obtained from the subservient vestry support from the poor rates for the wives and children of his coachmen and footmen, and thus was able to offer them less wages; the landlord obtained from the same source rent for the cottages which he let to pauper tenants, who were to him more valuable than tenants of any other class, as the rent was at once higher and more certain; and the farmer, after paying to his labourers a portion of their wages, sent them to the overseer to receive the remainder from the poor rate. Is all past experience, so dearly purchased, to be thrown away? Is Derbyshire, which now stands highest on the

list in the scale of independence, to be reduced to the degraded level of the pauperised counties of the south? The paupers of Derbyshire are to those of Wiltshire as five to fourteen; shall this ratio, so honourable to Derbyshire, be continued? or will the electors choose the candidates who will introduce amongst them pauperism in a form to them as yet unknown?—pauperism bringing in its train drunkenness and incendiarism, with the worst of vices and the worst of passions? At the nomination at Bath, which took place last Monday, June 28, 1841, the party opposed to Lord Duncan and Mr. Roebuck, thought to use this base means of gaining a few votes: they produced a black banner, inscribed with the words, "Down with the accursed New Poor Law;" although one of their candidates, Ludlow Brudges, Esq., was at the very time the Chairman of a Board of Guardians of a Union in the neighbourhood, and a very intelligent supporter and administrator of the New Poor Law. immense concourse, however, would not tolerate this hypocrisy; they would not permit the banner to remain, and after shewing itself for about a quarter of an hour-an inglorious monument of the spirit of the party, the people took it down by force, and tore it to pieces. Nor was the appeal which Lord Powerscourt made to them on this topic at all more successful; they would not listen to professions of sympathy for the poor from a man who was opposed to all endeavours on the part of their true friends to ameliorate their condition. At the poll, the electors passed their sentence of condemnation upon such an unworthy attempt, by placing their late members in a minority, and by giving to Lord Duncan and Mr. Roebuck a majority of more than 300 votes. Will the electors of South Derbyshire be caught by such a contemptible bait? Will the inhabitants of the most independent county in England allow themselves to be gulled by such monstrous hypocrisy? It is clear that the candidates opposed to Lord Waterpark and Mr. Gisborne think they will be so gulled, as they have posted on the walls of the town of Derby large placards of "MUNDY AND COLVILE, THE FRIENDS OF THE POOR;" and though to them it may seem only a political squib, yet, in the hope of deceiving ignorant men, and creating a prejudice against the liberal candidates, they have circulated throughout the district, cards, one of which now lies before me, containing the following inscription, "To the Governors of the Union Workhouses. Admit the bearer into THE NEW BASTILE, separate him from his wife and children, and LET HIM HAVE SKILLY THREE "Yours, truly, TIMES A-DAY.

"WATERPARK AND GISBORNE."

The Committee of Messrs. Mundy and Colvile are aware that the above conveys a false impression to the reader; they know that the cases of separation of man and wife are so few as to be a grievance more imaginary than real; that it took place nearly as much under the old law as under the new, and that in the case of aged and

deserving persons, the Board of Guardians are permitted to allow the husband and wife to live together in a room appropriated to their use in the Workhouse. They know too that the food of the inmates is better than that which most agricultural labourers can obtain. In the Bath Union Workhouse there are every week two meat dinners, and a third dinner consisting of a good supply of excellent soup made of meat and peas, and so well tasted, that on Thursday last it was submitted for inspection, not only to the members of the Visiting Committee, of whom I was one, but amongst those who examined the provisions, and saw the inmates at their dinner, were the Rector of the largest parish in Bath, accompanied by a clerical friend, and by several ladies, all of whom expressed their approbation of what they had seen. Each inmate has every week 132 ounces of bread, 18 ounces and a half of cheese, 13 ounces of cooked meat, ten pints and a half of gruel, one pint and a half of soup, one pound and a half of potatoes, with a pint of tea twice a-day to nearly 200 aged and infirm, and with suet puddings, rice, treacle and milk, for the children, in addition to their meat and soup. What can we think of persons calling themselves gentlemen and friends to the poor, who, knowing all this, wish the ignorant to believe that all that is allowed to the inmates is "skilly three times a-day." The inmates of Workhouses will almost invariably acknowledge that they obtain better food than they were able to obtain by their own labour.

If more were done for the inmates, would it not be unjust to the ratepayers? Do not the men who make this appeal know that the industrious ratepayer can sometimes scarcely provide as much for himself, as those enjoy for whom he is compelled to pay poor rates? If the poor rates were paid by the rich alone there might be some excuse for the letter of Sir George Crewe, and for the placards of his political friends; but let the electors know that the poor rates are almost entirely paid by the working classes; that either directly or indirectly they are a tax upon industry. Sir George appeals indeed to the wealthy, not indeed to assist the poor out of their own wealth, but to assist him in obtaining relief for them out of the poor rates. He says, "If it is denied to the poor, as it is now by many, that they have an abstract right to a maintenance out of the superfluities of enormous wealth, such as this country can boast of (a right which in feudal times was admitted and acted upon, whilst in these days of emancipation it appears the responsibility of the wealthy has disappeared, with the bondage of the serf), they have at least a right to claim that what relief they do receive from the State, in its character of universal parent, shall be free from any circumstances which bring upon them

insult and needless suffering in addition to their poverty."

I ask, who prevents Sir George Crewe, out of his vast estate, from providing for the poor with feudal hospitality? The scripture tells him not to call his rich friends to his table, but the poor, the maimed,

the halt, and the blind, who cannot recompense him. Few are better able to set such an example. A Baronet who can ride ten miles in a straight line on his estate, may give an acre of land to every poor person in the Union in which he resides, if he pleases, and scarcely miss it; or he may support all the poor at his own cost, as comfortably as he likes, and no one will find fault. His neighbours will rise up and call him blessed. But when, under the name of the State, he would enforce a charity which must take from the industrious ratepayers those earnings which they cannot spare, when he advocates a system which brings the poor ratepayer by summonses before the magistrates for default of payment, and which seizes his goods by a distress warrant, and perhaps consigns his person to gaol, then the cry for a more liberal allowance to the poor comes most ungraciously from such a quarter. If the House of Commons contained a majority of such legislators as Sir George Crewe, the ruin of the working classes of England would soon be accomplished; but if the electors of South Derbyshire possess the independence which their place in the list of counties, as regards pauperism, betokens; if they possess the intelligence which should mark the county town distinguished above other towns, by its noble Mechanics' Institution, and by its splendid Arboretum, then will neither Sir George Crewe, nor any person of his sentiments, ever again have the honour to address them as his constituents.

Printed by Samuel Gibbs, 5, Union Street, Bath.

OBJECTIONS

TO THE

NEW POOR LAW

ANSWERED.

PART IV.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF HINTON CHARTERHOUSE, NEAR BATH,

LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND A GUARDIAN OF THE BATH UNION.

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OBJECTIONS TO THE NEW POOR LAW ANSWERED.

13. Man has a natural right to a maintenance from the soil on which he was born; and as the land has been divided amongst certain individuals, those who have no land have a natural claim upon those who have.—Suppose this were true; yet, if to every individual were given the value of his portion of the soil, the idle and dissolute would soon part with their share to the industrious and frugal; and these, having gained lawful possession, would have a right to keep it and to transmit the same to their posterity; whereas, they who squandered their good things would have nothing left for old age or to leave to their children. If, for present gratification, Esau sells his birthright to his brother Jacob, the descendants of Esau cannot claim that birthright of the descendants of Jacob. In like manner, in our own country, the descendants of those who, through idle and imprudent habits became poor, have no right to claim from the descendants of those who, through industry and frugality, became rich, the birthright which their ancestors had forfeited. The greater number of those who possess property have either acquired it by their own industry, or have inherited it from those who originally so acquired it. This natural right to a maintenance is, however, wholly imaginary; and is an idea that the imagination would never have conceived but for the existence of Poor Laws, and for the habit of claiming parochial relief, which had been formed under those laws. That which is a natural right may be claimed by all; but, if all men claimed their right to a maintenance from the soil there would be none to use the labour necessary for its cultivation. Such universal claim would be followed by universal starvation; or, by such a precarious subsistence as that which savages enjoy, who, holding their land in common, sometimes perish with hunger upon a rich territory, which, under the more careful management of private property, would comfortably support a hundred times as many persons.

A man has no natural right to a maintenance except by earning it. Food and labour are inseparably connected by the Divine Being himself. Some till the land; others work at the bottom of a mine; some earn their food in ships; and some in factories; but all may find work for their hand to do. No man's station in life is the result of chance:—"The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord."—Prov. 16, 33.—"The whole arrangements of society, the occupations of men, as well as the powers that be, are ordained of God." The supreme ruler of all represents himself "as a man taking a far journey, who left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch."—Mark 13, 34.—And although wicked men may grind the faces

of the poor, and oppressive laws may make the path of the laborious, painful, and grievous, yet the arrangements of divine providence shall not be so far superseded, but that industry shall have its food, and idleness its hunger. It is indeed common to hear of a scarcity of employment; and, in certain places, there may be justice in the complaint; yet it is too generally the case that men who say they cannot get work are too proud to accept such work as can be got, with such wages as are offered. Sometimes, in order to earn a living, it is necessary to learn a new trade; or to go to another country. He that taught us to ask for no more than our "daily bread," and who commanded us that "having food and raiment, we should be therewith content," promised to those who serve him that "their bread shall not fail, and their water shall be sure;" but he did not promise the luxuries which self indulgence covets, nor the intoxicating drink in which thousands of operatives spend their wages. The Poor Law has rendered men as helpless as children. If the employment in a factory ceases, they insist upon it that they are not fit for out-of-door employment; whereas, this employment would be most favourable to their health, does not require much skill, and such skill as may be required has been obtained by thousands who have spent the early part of their lives in a factory. The only real disadvantage is, that the wages are usually lower than those received by manufacturing operatives. The rights of man are the rights of industry. The first great charter of the world is, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread:" and in the second charter the amount of labour and of rest is thus defined :- "Six days shalt thou labour; and on the seventh, thou shalt do no manner of work." From this destiny no man can escape unless he can produce a special licence from heaven. Laborious toil, continued exertion of body and mind in the pursuit of some useful end, is required of every individual without exception. The rich are as much under this obligation as the poor. They have indeed a greater number of talents to trade with, and therefore greater responsibility, and a more serious account to give at the great day of judgment. They have also a greater liberty of choice as to the manner in which they will devote themselves to the service of society. Under the same charter, in the sweat of their face they shall have a right to eat bread; their labour shall give them an appetite; and when eaten, it shall do them good; their food shall nourish them; and their sleep shall be sweet. Being usefully occupied, they shall not require the excitement of war, of political strife, of gambling, horse-racing, and other hurtful and frivolous excitements. It would then be no longer said of them in the language of Scripture, "The great men have altogether broken the yoke, and burst the bonds;" but they would endeavour to be in usefulness the more abundant, in proportion as in rank they were the more elevated. Whether rich or poor none would be idle, but all who claim the name of man would be comprehended in the brief description of his existence given by the Psalmist:—" Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening."—Psalm 104, 25.—He that eats the bread of idleness eats that to which he has no right. He may indeed have a legal right to his property, and no man may take it from him; but in the face of heaven he cannot, with a good conscience, eat his daily food unless by some useful employment he carns it. He who having wealth eats without toil, robs God; he, who having none, throws himself upon his fellow-creatures,

robs both God and man; he who does not render the full amount of work for the wages he receives, robs his employer to that extent in which the wages received exceed the value of the work done; and he who not only serves not his master to the best of his ability, but by habits of intoxication, puts his master's property in jeopardy, or, by his turbulent spirit, strives to excite ill will amongst his fellow-workmen towards their employer, has not only not earned the wages which he receives, but is, in the sight of God, a thief, and a swindler. The meaning of the charter,—"in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread,"—is, that by honest work, in a useful trade or occupation, a man shall give a full equivalent of labour or of goods for the money received as the wages of labour or as the price of goods.

Dr. Paley, in his Moral Philosophy, acknowledges a natural claim on the part of the poor to voluntary assistance in their distress; and a legal right to parish relief; but he speaks with greater approbation of assistance from the Poor-rates than he would have done had he lived to see the increase of pauperism, and the depraved condition of the poor, caused by the profuse distribution of the Poor-rates. He says, "The poor have the same right to that portion of a man's property which the law assigns to them, that the man himself has to the remainder;" and he mentions, as one of the benefits introduced by Christianity, "the legal provision for the poor, which obtains in this country, and which was unknown, and unthought of by the most humanized nations of antiquity." But his arguments chiefly tend to enforce the duty of private charity in rendering voluntary aid to the poor in their destitution. He says, "The poor have a claim founded in the law of nature, which may be thus explained:—All things were originally common. No one being able to produce a charter from heaven, had any better title to a particular possession than his neighbour. There were reasons for mankind's agreeing upon a separation of this common fund; and God for these reasons is presumed to have ratified it. But this separation was made and consented to, upon the expectation and condition, that every one should have left a sufficiency for his subsistence, or the means of procuring it; and as no fixed laws for the regulation of property can be so contrived, as to provide for the relief of every case and distress which may arise, these cases and distresses, when their right and share in the common stock was given up and taken from them, were supposed to be left to the voluntary bounty of those who might be acquainted with the exigencies of their situation, and in the way of affording assistance. And, therefore, when the partition of property is rigidly maintained against the claims of indigence and distress, it is maintained in opposition to the intention of those who made it, and to His, who is the Supreme Proprietor of everything, and who has filled the world with plenteousness, for the sustentation and comfort of all whom he sends into it.' And in order to establish the obligation of this voluntary bounty. he quotes the description which Christ has left us of the proceedings of the last day :- "Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand, come he blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and he clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. And inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me." So far as

this passage enjoins upon these who have property, the duty of being ready to give and willing to communicate, it is fitly applied; and when we address the rich man, it becomes us to urge upon him the exhortation, "Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much give plenteously. If thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little:" but when we approach all rate-payers with the compulsory claim of a Poor-rate, the whole force of this and of every other scripture exhortation is lost; and when, instead of urging the rich to benevolence, and the liberal to devise liberal things, we urge the poor to put in their claim for relief as a right, we subvert the very foundations of charity, and widen the breach which subsists between the two great classes of society.

The Scripture abounds in passages which enforce the exercise of judicious benevolence, but when addressing such as are in danger of falling into destitution, it does not, by false sympathy, encourage them to look to others for support; much less to claim that support either from private or public bounty. Even when distress is induced by unavoidable causes it is declared to be "more blessed to give than to receive;" and in all other cases, the desire of gifts, and the reliance upon other men's property, are clearly condemned. In order to prove that such is the general tenor of Scripture. I might produce hundreds of passages, but the following may suffice:—

"In all labour there is profit; but the talk of the lips tendeth only to penury." Prov. 14, 23.

"Every man shall receive his own reward according to his wn labour." 1st. Cor. 3, 8.

"For yourselves know how ye ought to follow us: for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you; neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you. Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an example unto you to follow us. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread." 2nd. Thess. 3, 7—12.

"That ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you; that ye may walk honestly towards them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing." 1st. Thess. 4, 11.

"The workman is worthy of his meat." Matt. 10, 10.

"A man should rejoice in his own works, for that is his portion." Eccles. 3, 22.

"He becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand; but the band of the diligent maketh rich." Prov. 10, 4.

"Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." Rom. 12, 11.

"The soul of the sluggard desireth and hath nothing; but the soul of the diligent shall be made fat." Prov. 13, 4.

"The sluggard will not plough by reason of the cold; therefore shall be beg in harvest, and have nothing." Prov. 20, 4.

The declarations that the sluggard SHALL DESIRE, AND HAVE

NOTHING;—that he SHALL BEG IN HARVEST, AND HAVE NOTHING;—are set aside when parochial relief is given to the idle and niprovident. It is quite clear that the object of these sentences is to teach every man to depend upon his own labour and fore-thought for his support; and that the natural consequence of diligent labour is prosperity. If there be any obstacle which prevents this consequence from following, itought to be removed. But this circumstance has nothing whatever to do with the arguments in favour of self-support; nor in the justification of a system of charity which degrades the recipients of it. That it is the tendency of charity thus to degrade its recipients, the scriptures themselves plainly declare:

- "Thou shalt take no gift: for the gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous."—Ex. 23.8.
- "A wicked man taketh a gift out of the bosom to pervert the ways of judgment."—Prov. 17. 23.
- "Oppression maketh a wise man mad; and a gift destroyeth the heart."—Eccles. 7.7.
 - "He that hateth gifts shall live."-Prov. 15. 27.
- "He that receiveth gifts overthroweth judgment."-Prov. 29. 4.
 - "The borrower is servant unto the lender."-Prov. 22.7.
 - "It is more blessed to give than to receive."-Acts 20. 35.

A Commentator upon this passage observes,—"The sentiment of the children of this world is contrary to this; they are afraid of giving, but in hope of getting. Clear gain is with them the most blessed thing that can be; but Christ tells us, it is more blessed, more excellent in itself, an evidence of a more excellent disposition of mind, and the way to better blessedness at the last, to give than to receive. It makes us more like God, who gives to all, and receives from none; and to the Lord Jesus, who went about doing good." Of similar import is the exhortation of the Apostle, "Owe no man any thing."—Rom. 13. 8. Be not under obligation to others for your maintenance, if you can possibly avoid it. That parochial relief which you covet is taken by force from many an industrious family. Do not continue in their debt. Spend not upon yourselves that which you owe to others; but provide things honest in the sight of all men.

The theory, therefore, of a "right to a maintenance," which leads a man perpetually to solicit relief from others, is very injurious to him. It perverts his judgment and destroys his energy; it detains him in a place in which he is not wanted, in the hope of some supposed advantage he may derive from his parish. He remains in a place in which work is scarce, and labour cheap, or in which all that he can expect is a scanty pittance from the parish, instead of going to another place in which work is abundant, labourers scarce, and consequently wages high. A gentleman, who is about to go to New Zealand, informs me that the only persons willing to go with him are such as could do very well at home; whereas, able-bodied labourers refuse, "because there will be no parish to go to." He says that the women especially urge their husbands not to go; and that their language is, "we shall get along very well whilst we are young, and when we are old the parish will support us." Some of these persons having high wages for their temporary employment on a portion of the Great Western Railway, spend

almost every shilling they receive in drunkenness; and actually take home less to their wives and children than when they had only half the present wages; and to this course of conduct they are led by a consciousness that let the worst come to the worst, they have a parish to go to.

In like manner this supposed right to a maintenance leads workmen into strikes and combinations injurious to the masters, and ruinous to themselves. They know that they depend not upon good conduct for subsistence; but that, whatever offence they may give to their employer, and however grievous their profligacy and drunkenness during the continuance of the strike, they are always certain of support from the parish. Hence those persons are most ready to strike for an increase of wages whose wages are already the highest; and who, having already large sums to spend in drink, become so desperately addicted to the habit, as to require still larger sums. Thus is the master, whose whole capital is invested in his trade, and whose losses are already so great as to threaten him with ruin, compelled to bear with the insolence of these unprincipled men; and not unfrequently to submit to the terms which they dictate. This is the worst species of intimidation and tyranny; and one unhappily for which English workmen, trained up in the notion of a right to a maintenance whether they behave well or not, are distinguished in all parts of the world. If the master kept back part of the wages which he had agreed to give, the workman would, indeed, be wronged—the workman having as much right to full wages as the master has to full work; but the workman is not wronged if the master will not increase his wages; or if the master chooses to give him no work at all, but to take another workman in his place. If we think the services of one man less valuable to us than the services of another man for the same wages, we have as much right to refuse the one, and to accept the other, as we have to pass by a shop, in which we do not approve the goods, in order to go to another shop in which there are better goods for the same money. Some working men are so lazy and disagreeable, that it is cheaper to pay them for their absence than for their presence. The redress of the rejected workman is plain: he can offer his labour to other employers. God has given the earth for the use of men, but he has not fixed us to any particular spot of it. His command is, that we replenish the earth and subdue it; that we extend cultivation and civilization over the face of it. In some way or other, we are bound to find for ourselves useful occupation. In his valuable work on "The Improvement of the Mind," Dr. Watts observes, "From your natural powers, sensations, judgment, memory, hands, feet, &c., make this inference, that they were not given you for nothing, but for some useful employment, to the honour of your Maker, and for the good of your fellow-creatures, as well as for your own best interest and final happiness." These remarks apply to all classes; for

"Honour and shame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the honour lies."-Pope.

For the air they breathe, for the food they eat, and for the social privileges they enjoy, persons of every station are bound to render some return, not only with their lips but in their lives. If the Queen, and all that are put in authority under her, "truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of true religion and vir-

tue;" if the bishops and curates, both by their life and doctrine, set forth God's true and lively word;" if legislators, anxiously endeavouring to repeal all laws that are injurious, and to enact such as shall give to industry its rights, strive to restore to the people, security, and a sense of security for their persous and property; if labourers obtain from the earth its produce, if manufacturers prepare it, if merchants carry it, and shopkeepers retail it, upon principles of justice between man and man, then do all these, in their several stations, earn their own living; and as good stewards of the manifold grace of God, each has a right to a maintenance from the soil on which he lives.

14.—The independence of parishes is destroyed, and the influence of intelligent ratepayers within their respective parishes removed, by the formation of parishes into Unions.—This objection is, to a certain extent, just. If in every parish there were ratepayers of sufficient intelligence to understand the nature of pauperism; and if the law permitted them to adopt such modes of relief as should be least open to abuse; parishes would be in a more eligible condition than they now are. In the Board of Guardians a country parish is usually represented by one person; that one person is interested in the good management of the parish which he represents; whereas, the other Guardians have an interest directly opposed to that parish, inasmuch as the greater its increase of pauperism and the higher its expenditure, the larger is its share of the establishment charges, and, consequently, the less is the share of every other parish. In a single parish, on the contrary every individual in the vestry is directly interested in the prosperity of the parish, and better acquainted with the character of the parties, who make application for relief, than those Guardians can be who reside in distant villages.

The affairs of a parish were not, however, in the hands of the intelligent parishioners before the passing of the New Poor Law. The relief of the poor, though partly vested in the overseers, was chiefly in the hands of the magistrates. The overseer was sometimes extremely ignorant, and unfit for an office of such importance. If he happened to be an upright man, determined to check imposition, and willing to brave the hatred of bad men, he was usually thwarted by the magistrates. If the greater part of the magistrates of the district refused to encourage an insolent pauper, yet there were generally some of their number who were known as the "poor man's magistrates," who would exercise their power in a manner most insulting to the overseer, and most injurious to the parish. The conduct of these magistrates introduced a false standard of morality, and confounded all ideas of right and wrong. It drew the eyes of the poor from their own exertions to a coveting gaze upon the parish pay-table. Had the property of the ratepayers been subjected, for a few years longer, to the caprice of overseers and to the mandate of magistrates, the whole kingdom would have been involved in ruin.

It is true that the magistrates required certain qualifications before they ordered relief; but the dislike to continued toil led thousands to counterfeit these qualifications. Ten hours' labour in the field would earn eighteenpence; whereas, one hour's exertion of the brain and the tongue might obtain from the magistrates a weekly pension for life. If extreme wretchedness be the qualification, the applicants will vie with each other in their ragged appearance, and in their deplorable tales. If want

of work be an essential qualification, they will declare that there is no work to be had. If, to suspend the magistrates' order, the overseer obtained employment for them, they will be so superlatively lazy, and so disagreeable to their employer, as to compel him to dismiss them. If a family of children be requisite, they will marry at an early age, without the slightest provision for the future. If any of the children, for whom they receive pay, should die, they will, as long as possible, conceal the fact, and continue to receive pay for dead children, until the fraud is discovered. They will borrow their neighbour's children, and pass them off as their own. By these means, they will continue to obtain a weekly allowance, not merely from one parish, but from several parishes at the same time. Nor is there any standard of qualification that will not, in course of time, tempt the industrious poor from their labour, in order to obtain relief on the ground of that qualification.

Suppose, then, that this hurtful interference of the magistrates were removed, the next question is, are there, in every parish, persons of sufficient intelligence to understand the evils of pauperism, and of sufficient boldness to apply a remedy? It is certain that, in the greater number of parishes, such persons could not be found. Some are partakers in the abuses; some are indolent, and will not trouble themselves about such matters; some are timid, and are afraid to bring upon themselves ill will; some are engrossed in business, and so inordinately bent upon the pursuit of wealth, as to have no time for any thing else; and some have such mistaken views of religion as to think it sinful to take part in such secular affairs. If paupers are better provided for by the ratepayers than the industrious man by his own labour, but few of the inhabitants of a country village would incur their vindictive malice by proposing to reduce the pay of some, and to stop the pay of others. If the inmates of a poor-house lived better than the labourer's family, and had, iu addition to board and lodging, liberty to go out into the streets as beggars, busybodies, and disturbers of society, there are few that would venture to propose a reduction of their comforts to the level of the labourer's simple fare; or that would compel them to work, and take from them the liberty which they had so much abused. If, in such poor-houses, men and women lived together promiscuously; if men exchanged their wives one with another, what inhabitant would so far risk the peace and safety of himself and family as attempt to reduce this horrible confusion into order? He who would insist upon a suitable classification of ages and sexes, would be charged with separating man and wife, and with putting asunder those whom God had joined together. There is not one parish in twenty in which the inhabitants would, of their own accord, incur such

The public welfare, therefore, demanded the formation of Unions, consisting of many parishes; and of Boards of Guardians selected by the respective parishes, who, by mutual advice and support, aided by competent officers, might accomplish the arduous work. Had all the parishes comprised in each Union been made one for the purpose of rating and settlement, had the guardians been furnished with unlimited discretion in their endeavours to diminish pauperism, and had they been restricted only in any tendency which an ignorant, corrupt, or popularity-seeking board might manifest to increase pauperism, the system

would then have effectually dried up ten thousand fountains of idleness, extortion, intemperance and crime; and would, in a few years, have restored to the working classes of England the spirit of manly independence and self support. As individuals, associating in clubs, obtain by their united incomes, far greater comforts than they could have enjoyed separately, so it is with parishes. The inspection which is necessary to prevent imposition in a small district will suffice for a large one. One skilful accountant will keep accounts of an expenditure of £40,000 a year, mose easily than forty incompetent men can keep their separate accounts of £1000 a year. There is a simplicity and economy in large establishments, to which smaller ones cannot attain. A great part of the inhabitants of country villages can neither read nor write; and the salaries paid to officers are as small as their attainments. With their contracted views of things they would not employ any superior person whose talents and integrity would require an adequate recompense. If, then, instead of forty petty officers there were appointed one chief officer over the forty parishes united; if, with a suitable number of officers under him, such chief officer could bring order out of confusion; if he could superintend a machinery that would tell when the finger of dishonesty had touched it, and that would so accurately register accounts as to enable him to detect the slightest error, then would a liberal salary save its own amount forty times over, and each parish would gain by the union of the whole.

The Union Workhouses are not according to the spirit of the age; the treatment of the inmates is not such as becomes this great country. If there must be Workhouses, and if the poor are so unfortunate as to be obliged to accept of such relief, the dietary and regulations ought to be such as to render them as comfortable as possible. -That spirit of the age which objects to Union Workhouses objects also to every species of salutary discipline. It pities the pauper and the thief, but has little thought for the industrious and the honest. Whilst it denounces the punishment of death for murder, it regards not the thousands of deaths caused by the improvidence, drunkenness, and profligacy of the individuals themselves, or by the oppressive legislation and taxation to which industry is exposed. When for the punishment of death there is substituted a secondary punishment, this spirit of the age carries the same morbid sympathy into its contemplation of the sufferings endured: -it describes the horrible condition of the convict under the more severe regulations of the penal settlement;—of the prisons under the silent and separate systems, or when the criminal is doomed to hard labour; and it rests not until the felon is better fed and better treated than the honest portion of the working classes. In its pity to the slave it gives 20 millions sterling, forced from a people already pressed to the earth by a National Debt, and by thus inflicting a penalty of nearly £5 upon every family in the kingdom, it transfers the slavery of the West Indies to England, and requires every man to work so much the harder, and fare so much the worse, in order to pay the earnings which he himself should enjoy, to those owners of slaves, who have no right whatever to such earnings. This spirit of the age would take the pence of the poor to build churches for the rich; and, leaving the wealth of the ecclesiastical establishment untouched, it would place a church-extension tax upon the industrious classes, by whom all

taxes are ultimately paid, in order to provide additional salaries for additional curates sent into the church by opulent families in the hope of preferment. This may be called the spirit of charity, religion, and philanthropy; but it is, in reality, the spirit of injustice, cruelty, and oppression.

This, however, is not the only spirit of the age; there is a far nobler spirit which inculcates upon men that they "do justly," as well as "love mercy." To every outcry of the spirit of spurious charity, there is a response from the spirit of reason and justice. 'A friend to the poor,' for instance, demands that the inmates of the Workhouse be allowed some good wholesome beer. "I like a little myself," he says, "and I may one day come to poverty, and therefore I ought to do to them as I would be done by." No, says the equally humane teetotaller, "I object to their having beer or strong drink at my expense;-there is no goodness in it; it is useless, and unnecessary; I take none myself, and I shall refuse to pay the poor-rates if I am to be taxed for that of which I conscientiously disapprove." "I abhor the cruelty of separating man and wife," says another; "let them live together and I am satisfied." "But I shall not be satisfied," is the reply from the opposite quarter; "I am willing to pay towards the support of the man and wife, if they cannot support themselves; but I am not willing that they should breed up children at my expense: they have no right to bring children into the world when they cannot even maintain themselves." "But," says a third objector, "those children that are already born ought to be permitted to live with their parents." To which his neighbour replies, "The parents are ignorant and deprayed, and will corrupt their children; the worst enemies a poor child has are its pauper parents; keep the children separate; educate them; give them better principles; let them see better examples; or pauperism will descend from generation to generation; let the Workhouse be to them a boarding school, in which they may be under the care of the schoolmaster, without the interference of parents. In the industrial school of Norwood, at which there are a thousand children, the spirit of the age requires that the parents be permitted to come and see them, the consequence of which, the master informed me, is that women, in a state of intoxication. visit their children, and sometimes so drunk are they, that they do not know their own children, but laying hold of other person's children, caress them, and depart perfectly satisfied that they have seen their own; and this he added, is the greatest drawback to the general progress of the children in good principles, and good conduct :- "I am not opposed to the Workhouse," says a fourth, "provided the poor creatures had liberty to go out and breathe the fresh air, and to visit their friends.' To which another ratepayer responds, "For what do I pay poor rates, but to prevent begging in the streets? If the guardians let loose upon society several hundred paupers, with all the drunken and dishonest habits, which unhappily characterise the greater part of them, I shall say that they are not doing their duty." "At all events," says a fifth, "they ought to be allowed to attend their own places of worship on Sundays.' "What," replies an experienced overseer, "when I have seen them return to the Workhouse in a state of intoxication! People of their class seldom attend any place of worship when they live at their own homes; the greater part are aged, infirm, or

children, for whom a minister must be provided, and why should not the rest listen to his instructions? As to conscientious scruples, if there are worthy, pious, and aged Dissenters amongst them, let the congregations to which they belong support such worthy members, as was formerly the case with Christian churches, and as is now the case with the Quakers." "I am very reasonable in my demands," says a sixth, "1 require that the poor shall no longer be fed upon a dietary that will just support life, but such food as is fit for their class of life." Now to this it is difficult for any one to reply, on account of the diversity of opinion as to what constitutes a fit dietary for that class. The parliament made enquiries as to the mode of living amongst the labouring classes, and as to the cost of their maintenance; and almost every witness gave a different answer. The witnesses were clergymen, and gentlemen who had served parochial offices in the metropolis, and the questions were,-What can a family earn? Can they live on their earnings? Can they put by any thing? "The answer from Chiswick states that a family might earn £49 a-year, on which they might live, but could not save." St. Anne and Agnes, and St. Leonard, Foster's-lane, -family might earn £60, but could not live upon it. St. Botolph without, Aldersgate,-family might earn £63 18s., on which they might subsist, but could not save any thing. Mile End, New Town, and St. Mary's, Somerset, city of London,—family might earn £65; on which they might live, but could not save any thing. St. Leonard, Eastcheap,—family might earn £78; could not save, and cannot ascertain whether they could live upon it. St. James's Westminster, -man might earn £78; besides material assistance from his wife and children; might live on wholesome food, but cannot attempt to say whether they could save. Holy Trinity the Less,—family might earn £93; might live on spare diet, but could not save anything. Mr. Baker, the coroner, and vestry clerk of St. Anne's Limehouse, states that a family might earn £100, on which they could live, but not save. Hammersmith,—a family might earn £49 8s., which would give them wholesome food, and they might, and do save."

In the poor-house of St. Mary's parish, Reading, the quantity of food given to each man, every week, was 7lbs. of bread, $2\frac{\pi}{4}$ lbs. of meat, 3 lbs. of vegetables, 1 lb. 9 oz. of cheese, and 21 pints of beer. The diet for females and children was exactly the same, except that the beer was only 10 pints and a half per week, instead of 21. According to this dietary, a man with a wife and six children would consume in a week

Bread	561bs	Cheese
Meat	18!bs.	Beer12 gallons.
Vegetables		

Whereas, an independent labourer, with a wife and six children, informed me that, out of his wages of 9s. a week, he could provide only bread and potatoes for his family; that they consumed a four-pound loaf every day, and a peck of potatoes. The weekly consumption of this industrious man and his family is, therefore, as follows:—

Bread28 lbs.	Cheesenone. Beernone.		
Meat	Bott militaria		

There are, also, in a Union workhouse, many advantages which

the labourer cannot obtain for his children. The children receive better instruction; the sick have the daily visits of a medical officer, and such diet as he may prescribe for them; the aged and infirm have a pint of tea twice a day. The following statement of articles, not much known in the labourer's cottage, has been given me by the clerk:-

Articles of luxury consumed in the Bath Union Workhouse for the year ending Midsummer, 1841:

641 lbs. of tea cost	£148	5	0
$39\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. of sugar	152	7	4
$55\frac{3}{4}$ gallons of wine	38	17	0
512 gallons of beer			
60 lbs. of arrow root			
Eggs	5	7	U
	£377	13	0

Hence it happens that, notwithstanding the false statements respecting the cruel treatment of the inmates, many of those who were once very unwilling to enter the house, are afterwards quite as unwilling to leave it; and that many persons who might provide for themselves the ordinary food of a labouring man, apply for admission in order to obtain the superior food of the work. house. It is no argument against this to assert that there are prisons in which criminals fare better than paupers in workhouses. It is a disgrace to our country that the assertion is true; but it would be no justification of an attempt to improve the condition of the inmates of a workhouse. The natural consequence of this superior manner of living is the same in the prison as in the workhouse; it is an inducement to enter. The following extract from a London paper of July 8, 1841, throws some light upon the effect which the present system of prison treatment has upon the poor:—

"AN IRISHMAN'S IDEA OF COMFORT.

"Matthew Cahill, a poor old Irishman, from the county of Roscommon, entered Hatton-garden Police, on Tuesday, for the purpose of soliciting advice how to be passed to Ireland.

"Duke, one of the ushers, informed him that his course was to apply to the overseer of the parish in which he had last slept, and he

inquired where he had slept last.

"Applicant (in a broad Irish dialect): I slept down there in Coldbath-fields.

"Do you mean in the House of Correction ?-Yes; sure they may call it that if they like, but there is very little correction used there, unless you call good ating, dhrinking, and comfortable lodging by

that name. (A langh.)

"What were you there for ?--Applicant: Only for begging. I was committed from this piace for begging abroad there in Russell-square, and a better place I would not wish to be in, and I wouldn't have left it only they turned me out, and wouldn't keep me there any longer. (Laughter.) Its the finest prison in all the world, and if you would send me back, it isn't meself that would wish to be sent home. (Immense laughter.)

"Duke: But you have to work there, haven't you?-Applicant: Sure, only what is good for your mind and body, a little natural exercise, which gives you an appetite to ate and dbrink what they give

you; and it's plenty you get there.
"Duke: Didn't they put you on the tread-mill?-Applicant: No; they put me to pick oakum in a comfortable room, with several others, and sure that was very aisy to do; there's many a gentleman's son, faith, that would be glad to get to ate and dhrink what they give there. You go to a comfortable bed with blankets to cover you, early, and when you get up in the morning you have people to wait upon

you; and they give you half-a-pound of bread and a pint of good gruel for breakfast; then at dinner time they give you half-a-pound of beef and another half-a pound of bread for dinner, and you have the same quantity for tea as for breakfast, and sure it's in a fine, open, airy,

healthy situation. (Laughter.)
"Duke: You have been in other prisons, then?
"Applicant: Yes, I am 73 years of age, and I want to leave off begging, and go home to my childer, and if I wasn't so old and my eyes so bad, I wouldn't leave off now, for its a pleasure to think of the treatment you receive when you're sent to such a place. Sure, when you're there you are the same as if you had your servants to attend upon you. If you're ill, there's a doctor for you, and everything you want; and is'nt it better to be there with all these comforts and convaniences, than to be outside, and unable to get any of them? (A

"He was proceeding to give a further description of the beauties and comforts of the prison, when he was introduced to Mr. Coombe, who directed that he should be taken to Clerkenwell workhouse, in order to be passed to Ireland, for which he thanked his lordship, and

hobbled out of the court."

The greater number of those who object to the treatment of the inmates of a workhouse have never made a personal inspection of the food and arrangements of a workhouse. In the Bath Union, those who have gone over the rooms, seen the inmates, and examined their food, have invariably expressed their approbation of what they had seen. In the visitors' book entries have been made by a large number of clergymen, and of ladies and gentlemen from all parts of the kingdom, speaking in terms of approbation, of the order and cleanliness, the food and clothing, and other advantages of the house, every part of which is shown to them without reserve, But, as a reply to the objection that the treatment of the inmates does not partake of that humanity which is required by the spirit of the age, I will insert one of these entries, which has been recently made by a gentleman who has made the subject of Poor Laws his particular study during the last thirty-six years. It is as follows:-

"I have gone over the house with the master, and inspected its several departments. As an hospital, almshouse, asylum, and place of refuge, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of it; but, as a workhouse under the Poor Law Amendment Act, I cannot regard it with the same approbation. The work is trifling; the character, bearing, and remarks of all about it, indicate a stronger sympathy with the out-door clamour against the law, than they do to keep the dissipated and dissolute poor in order. The encouragement evidently given to the scheme of improving the condition of society by giving the children of the depraved poor, trades and superior advantages, while those of the independent poor are left without these advantages, appears to me to be open to grave objections. The attachment which the young must acquire to an establishment where the gayest of their youth has been passed, must shake their independence in after life, and make the workhouse appear in their eyes as the best of institutions. I have received every attention from the master, and am much obliged for the civility which has attended my visit.-J. E. Bicheno, chairman of the Bridgend and Cowbridge Union."

The statement of articles of luxury consumed in the Bath Union workhouse may have given satisfaction to those who advocate a more generous mode of living for the sick and infirm; there are, however, men of great medical skill, and of acknowledged benevolence, who condemn the same. An able physician, Dr. Lovell, of Brentwood, has exerted himself as a guardian of the poor, to put a stop to such allowances; and the amiable and talented surgeon, Mr. Higginbottom, of Nottingham, has strenuously deprecated the practice. In the mouth of May, I requested this gentleman to give me, in writing, his sentiments upon the subject; and he sent me the following statement:—

"J. Higginbottom's opinion on the use of alcoholic drinks and tobacco in poor-houses.

"A question has often, of late, been suggested, whether fermented or spirituous liquors are at all necessary in poor houses,

either as an article of diet, or as a medicine.

"As an article of diet common sense alone will decide. On examination of individuals in a neighbouring poor house, by the chaplain of the establishment, he found that sixteen of the inmates, out of twenty, had come there, directly or indirectly, in consequence of drunkenness. Indeed, the common statistics of the country inform us that intoxicating drink is the cause of three-fourths of pauperism. Would it not be cruel, then, to continue the use of that injurious liquor which produces wretchedness, poverty, and disease, and is the principal cause of their

becoming inmates of the poor house?

"As a medicine it is totally unnecessary. Having no medicinal property, and, when prescribed by medical men, can only be given as a palliation, which may occasionally relieve pain by stupifying the nerves, but always at the risk of doing a greater injury to the body and aggravating disease. Intoxicating drinks were never known to cure any disease. Very often medical men prescribe them as a placebo—a Latin word for "I will please." If fermented and spirituous liquors were banished from Great Britain, both as a diet and as a medicine, there would be but few paupers in the land.

"What I here advance may be considered as the opinion of an individual. Let any medical man, or those most conversant

with intoxicating drinks, prove the contrary.

"It has been contended that the aged, in poor houses, ought to continue the use of tobacco, when they have been accustomed to it, either in smoking, chewing, or in the form of snuff; and that it would be a cruelty to deny them that indulgence. Tobacco is a poisonous, narcotic, and pauper-making weed; not only useless, but injurious to both the mental and physical powers; and the use of it cannot be sanctioned either in the young or in the old. There is no instance on record of any injury having been sustained by leaving it off all at once. It is a habit which 'every thing in heaven and earth discountenances.'"

Before the introduction of the New Poor Law into Parliament, Mr. Wall, the vestry clerk of St. Luke's, Middlesex, gave, in evidence, that the provision in the workhouse, "is a better maintenance, better food, and better lodging than working people and mechanics generally have. Able-bodied persons are anxious to come into the workhouse. Persons who come into the house in consequence of sickness or accident, find the mode of living so much better than they expected, that they are anxious and endeavour to remain there." Such is already the case with the Union workhouses; and such will be still more so, when the poor become better acquainted with the great advantages which are there to be enjoyed.

THE REFORMED

PRAYER BOOK

OF 1842:

IN WHICH THE MORNING SERVICE IS DIVIDED, AND THREE DISTINCT MORNING SERVICES MADE INSTEAD THEREOF; THE SERVICES FOR BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND BURIALS, AND THE CHURCH CATECHISM REVISED, AND THE OBJECTIONABLE PARTS OF THEM OMITTED.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, and late Fellow of St.

John's College, Cambridge.

"Let all things be done decently and in order."-1 Corinthians xiv. 40.

SECOND THOUSAND.

LONDON:

JOHN GREEN, 121, NEWGATE STREET: AND SAMUEL GIBBS, 5, UNION STREET, BATH.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

1842.

No. 15.

[&]quot;But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think that they hall be heard for their much speaking."—Matthew vi. 7.

[&]quot;Mold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which in Christ Jesus,"-2 Timothy i. 13.

EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE TO THE AMENDED PRAYER BOOK OF 1662.

It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her publick Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting, any variation from it. The particular forms of Divine worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place of Authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient.

CONCERNING THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH.

There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which in continuance of time hath not been corrupted: as, among other things, it may plainly appear by the Common Prayers in the Church, commonly called Divine Service.

PREFACE TO THE REFORMED PRAYER BOOK OF 1842.

Encouraged by such confessions as are contained in the preceding passages of the possibility of error, and the importance of occasional alterations, and being impressed with the conviction that to the want of such alterations, during the last 180 years, may be ascribed the heresies of Puseyism, so flattering to the pride and self-importance of the clergy, and so hurtful to the people deluded by them, the author has endeavoured to carry on that work of the first Reformers, which, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, was left incomplete. And although it may be the province of Ministers of State and Dignitaries of the Church to bring about "such changes and alterations as the exigencies of the times and occasions may render necessary or expedient," yet it must be through the representations of the clergy, who have practical experience of the evils complained of, and who have leisure to devise suitable remedies, that prelates and statesmen are most likely to see such changes and alterations to be necessary and expedient. And, therefore, as one of the many hundreds and probably some thousands of clergymen, who feel aggrieved with certain parts of the services which they are called upon to perform, the author trusts he shall not deserve the charge of presumpt on, if he commends the present alterations to the candid consideration of all who may notice them, and if he expresses an earnest hope that in due time, he and others likeminded, may be permitted to adopt in their respective churches "The Reformed Prayer Book of 1842."

The reasons for the changes which are made in the Reformed Prayer Book may be seen in the following pamphlets by the same author, each of which weighs, with an envelope, less than half an ounce.

Practical Suggestions on Church Reform ... Sth Thousand ..., price Twopence. Clerical Conformity and Church Property 13th Thousand ..., price Twopence.

Sold by John Green, 121, New gute Street, Lordon; and S. Gibbs, 5, Union Street, Bath.

MORNING PRAYER ON THE FIRST SUNDAY IN THE MONTH.

¶ At the beginning of Morning Prayer the Minister shall read with a loud voice these sentences of the Scriptures that follow. And then he shall say that which is written after the said sentences.

When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. Ezekiel xviii. 27.

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. Psalm li.17.

Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us in sundry places to acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness; and that we should not dissemble nor cloke them before the face of Almighty God our heavenly Father; but confess them with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart; to the end that we may obtain forgiveness of the same, by his infinite goodness and mercy. And although we ought at all times humbly to acknowledge our sins before God; yet ought we most chiefly so to do, when we assemble and meet together to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at his hands, to set forth his most worthy praise, to hear his most holy Word, and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul. Wherefore I pray and beseech you, as many as are here present, to accompany me with a pure heart, and humble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly grace, saying after me;

¶ A general Confession to be said of the whole Congregation after the Minister, all kneeling.

Almighty and most merciful Father; We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have

done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done; And there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults. Restore thou them that are penitent; According to thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake; That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, To the glory of thy holy Name. Amen.

¶ The following Absolution, or declaration of pardon to the truly penitent, shall be pronounced by the Minister alone standing: the people still kneeling.

Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness, and live; and hath given power, and commandment, to his Ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their sins: He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel. Wherefore let us beseech him to grant us true repentance, and his holy Spirit, that those things may please him, which we do at this present; and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy; so that at the last we may come to his eternal joy; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

¶ The people shall answer here, and at the end of all other prayers, Amen.

Then the Minister shall kneel, and say the Lord's Prayer with an audible voice; the people also kneeling, and repeating it with him, both here, and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service.

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against

us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil; For thine is the kingdom, The power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

¶ Then likewise he shall say,

O Lord, open thou our lips.

Answer. And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.

Minister. O God, make speed to

save us. Answer. O Lord, make haste to help

Here all standing up, the Minister shall say,

Glory be to the Father, and to the

Answer. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

Minister. Praise ye the Lord. Answer. The Lord's Name be praised.

- Then the Psalms, from the Bible version, as they are appointed.
- Then shall be read distinctly with an audible voice the First Lesson, taken out of the Old Testament, as is appointed in the Calendar, except there be proper Lessons assigned for that day: He that readeth so standing and turning himself, as he may best be heard of all such as are present. And after that, shall be said or sung, in English, the Hymn called Te Deum Laudamus.
- Note, That before every Lesson the Minister shall say, Here beginneth such a Chapter, or Verse of such a Chapter, of such a Book: And after every Lesson, Here endeth the First, or the Second Lesson.

Te Deum Laudamus.

We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee: the

Father everlasting.

To thee all Angels cry aloud: the Heavens, and all the Powers therein.

To thee Cherubin, and Seraphin:

continually do cry,

Holy, Holy, Holy: Lord God of Sabaoth:

Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty: of thy Glory.

The glorious company of the Apostles: praise thee.

The goodly fellowship of the Prophets:

praise thee. The noble army of Martyrs: praise thee.

The holy Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee;

The Father: of an infinite Majesty; Thine honourable, true: and only Son: Also the Holy Ghost: the Comforter. Thou art the King of Glory: O Christ.

Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.

When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man: thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.

When thou hadst overcome sharpness of death: thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.

Thou sittest at the right hand of God:

in the Glory of the Father.

We believe that thou shalt come: to

be our Judge.

We therefore pray thee, help thy servants: whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.

Make them to be numbered with thy

Saints: in glory everlasting.

O Lord, save thy people: and bless thine heritage.

Govern them: and lift them up for

Day by day: we magnify thee;

And we worship thy Name: ever world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord: to keep us this day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon us: have

mercy upon us. O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon

us: as our trust is in thee. O Lord, in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded.

Then shall be read in like manner the Second Lesson, taken out of the New And after that the fol-Testament. ing Psalm:

Jubilate Deo. Psal. c.

O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands: serve the Lord with gladness, and come before his presence with a song, &c. &c.

¶ Then shall be sung or said the Apostles' Creed by the Minister and the people, standing.

I believe in God the Father Almighty,

Maker of heaven and earth:

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead, and buried, He descended into hell; the third day he arose again from the dead, He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; From thence

the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; The Communion of Saints; The Forgiveness of sins; the Resurrection of the body, And the life everlasting. Amen.

Then the Minister shall say,

O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us. Answer. And grant us thy salvation. Minister. O Lord, save the Queen. Answer. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

Minister. Endue thy Ministers with

righteousness.

Answer. And make thy chosen peo-

ple joyful.

Minister. O Lord, save thy people. Answer. And bless thine inheritance. Minister. Give peace in our time, O Lord.

Answer. Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.

Minister. O God, make clean our hearts within us.

Answer. And take not thy holy Spirit from us.

¶ Then shall follow three Collects; the first of the Day, the second for Peace; the third for Grace to live well; all kneeling.

¶ After the Collect shall follow the Epistle and Gospel; and then the

following prayers.

The second Collect, for Peace.

O God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies; that we, surely trusting in thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries, through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The third Collect, for Grace.

O Lord, our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God, who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day; Defend us in the same with thy mighty power; and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all our doings may be ordered by thy governance, to do always that is righteous in thy sight; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the Queen's Majesty. O Lord our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of

he shall come to judge the quick and lords, the only Ruler of princes, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold our most gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria; and so replenish her with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that she may alway incline to thy will, and walk in thy way: Endue her plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant her in health and wealth long to live; strengthen her that she may vanquish and overcome all her enemies; and finally, after this life, she may attain everlasting joy and felicity; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the Royal Family.

Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech thee to bless Adelaide the Queen Dowager, the Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family: Endue them with thy holy Spirit; enrich them with thy heavenly grace; prosper them with all happiness; and bring them to thine everlasting kingdom; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the Clergy and People.

Almighty and everlasting God, who alone workest great marvels; send down upon our Bishops, and Curates, and all Congregations committed to their charge, the healthful Spirit of thy grace and that they may truly please thee, pour upon them the continual dew of thy blessing. Grant this, O Lord, for the honour of our Advocate and Mediator, Jesus Christ. Amen.

¶ Then shall follow the Prayers for the Parliament, and for all conditions of men; and the General Thanksgiving.

A Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee; and dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name thou wilt grant their requests: Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

2 Cor. xiii.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

MORNING PRAYER ON THE SECOND SUNDAY IN THE MONTH.

Rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil. Joel ii. 13.

To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him: neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws which he set before us. Daniel ix. 9, 10.

Dearly beloved Brethren,*—Unto a Christian man there can be nothing either more necessary or profitable, than the knowledge of holy scripture; forasmuch as in it is contained God's true word, setting forth his glory, and also man's duty. And there is no truth nor doctrine necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation but that is, or may be, drawn out of that fountain of truth. Therefore as many as be desirous to enter into the right and perfect way unto God, must apply their minds to know Holy Scripture. And as drink is pleasant to them that be thirsty, and meat to them that be hungry; so is the reading, hearing, searching, and studying of Scripture to them that be desirous to know God or themselves, and to do his will. Let us therefore search for the well of life in the books of the Old and New Testaments, and not run to the dirty puddles of men's tradition, devised by men's imagination, for our justification and salvation. Whatsoever is required to the salvation of man, is fully contained in the Scripture of God. He that is ignorant, may there learn knowledge. He that is hard-hearted and an obstinate sinner, shall there find everlasting torments, prepared of God's justice to make him afraid, and to soften him. He that is oppressed with

* This exhortation is abridged from the first homily, written by Archbishop Craumer.

misery in this world, shall there find relief in the promises of everlasting life, to his great consolation and comfort. If it shall require to teach any truth, or reprove any false doctrine, to rebuke any vice, to commend any virtue, to give good counsel, to comfort or to exhort, all these things we may learn plentifully from the Scriptures. These books, therefore, ought to be much in our hands, in our eyes, in our ears, in our mouths, but most of all in our hearts. This word whosoever is diligent to read, and in his heart to print that which he readeth, the great affection to the transitory things of this world shall be diminished in him, and the great desire of heavenly things shall increase in him. And there is nothing that so much strengtheneth our faith and trust in God, that so much keepeth up innocency and pureness of heart, and also of life and conversation, as continual reading of God's word. For that thing, which, by continual reading of Scripture, and diligent searching of the same, is deeply printed and graven in the heart, at length turneth almost into nature. And moreover the effect of God's word is to comfort the hearts of them that diligently read it, and to encourage them to perform that which, of God, is commanded. teacheth patience in adversity, prosperity humbleness; -what honour is due unto God, what mercy and charity to our neighbour. sheweth to whom we shall look for help in all perils, and that God is the only giver of victory in all battles and temptations of our enemies, bodily and ghostly. And in reading of God's word, he most profiteth not always that is most ready in turning of the book or in saying of it without the book, but he that is most

turned into it; that is most inspired with the Holy Spirit; most in his heart and life altered and changed into that thing which he readeth; he that is daily less proud, less wrathful, less covetous, and less desirous of worldly and vain pleasures; he that, forsaking his old and vicious life, daily increaseth in virtue more and more. There is nothing that more maintaineth godliness of the mind than the reading or hearing of God's word, if it be joined to a good affection to know and to follow God's will. For without a single eye, pure intent and good mind, nothing is allowed for good before God. And, on the other side, nothing more darkeneth Christ and the glory of God, nothing bringeth in more blindness and all kinds of vices than doth the ignorance of God's word. Let us, therefore, thank God heartily for this his great and special gift; and let us pray to God, the only author of these heavenly studies, that we may speak, think, believe, live and depart hence, according to the wholesome doctrine and verities of them. And, by that means, in this world we shall have God's defence, favour, and grace, with the unspeakable solace of peace and quietness of conscience; and after this life we shall enjoy the endless bliss and glory of heaven. Which that he may grant us all, that died for us all, even Jesus Christ, let us all unite in fervent prayer;

¶ A Prayer to be said by the whole Congregation, after the Minister, all kneeling.

Blessed Lord, who hast caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning; Grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience, and comfort of thy holy word, we may embrace, and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

O Most mighty God, and merciful Father, who hast compassion upon all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made; who wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turn from his sin, and be saved: Mercifully forgive us our trespasses; receive and comfort us, who are grieved and wearied with the burden of onr sins. property is always to have mercy; to thee only it appertaineth forgive sins. Spare us therefore, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed; enter not into judgment with thy servants, who are vile earth and miserable sinners; but so turn thy anger from us, who meekly acknowledge our vileness, and truly repent us of our faults; and so make haste to help us in this world, that we may ever live with thee in the world to come; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Minister alone, offer the following prayer.

O Lord, we beseech thee mercifully hear our prayers, and spare all those who confess their sins unto thee; that they whose consciences by sin are accused, by thy merciful pardon may be absolved; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall be read the Psalms in order as they are appointed, then the first Lesson of the Old Testament, and after that the following Psalm.

PSAL. 19. Cæli enarrant.

1 The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handywork, &c. &c.

Then shall be read the Second Lesson out of the New Testament; and after that the Psalm following:

PSAL. 23. Dominus regit me.

1 The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want, &c. &c.

Here followeth the Litany.

O God the Father, of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners, &c. &c.

Before the Prayer of St. Chrysostom shall be read the Collect of the day, and afterwards the Epistle and Gospel; and A Prayer for Unity.

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace; Give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly Union and Concord: that, as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee; and dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name thou wilt grant their requests; Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

2 Cor. xiii.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. *Amen*.

THE ORDER FOR

MORNING PRAYER ON THE THIRD SUNDAY IN THE MONTH.

I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. St. Luke xv. 18, 19.

Enter not into judgment with thy servant O Lord: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified. Psalm cxiii. 2.

If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: but, if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. 1 St. John i. 8, 9.

Dearly beloved brethren,—*There is no doctrine so necessary in the Church of God as the doctrine of repentance and amendment of life. And verily the true preachers of the gospel have always in their godly sermons joined these two together. Now there be four parts of repentance; the first is, contrition of heart; for we must be earnestly sorry for our sins, and we must unfeignedly

* This address is abridged from the Homily on Repentance.

lament that by them we have so grievously offended our most bounteous and merciful God, who so tenderly loved us, that he gave his only begotten Son to die a most bitter death for our redemption. And verily this inward sorrow and grief being conceived in the heart for the heinousness of sin, if it be earnest and unfeigned, is as a sacrifice to God, as the holy prophet David doth testify, saying, The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. The second part of repentance is, an unfeigned confession of our sins unto God. Hereunto doth pertain the saying of David, I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my These also are the words of John the Evangelist, If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. The third part of repentance is faith, whereby

we do take hold upon the promises of God touching the free pardon of our sins; which promises are sealed up unto us with the death and bloodshedding of his son Jesus Christ. For what would it profit us to be sorry for our sins or to confess our offences unless we do steadfastly believe and be fully persuaded that God, for his son Jesus Christ's sake, will forgive us all our sins? The fourth is, an amendment of life, or a new life, in bringing forth fruits worthy of repentance. For they that do truly repent must become altered and changed; they must become new creatures; they must be no more the same that they were before. And therefore thus said John the Baptist unto the Pharisees and Sadducees that came unto his baptism: O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance. We have the Ninevites for an example, who at the preaching of Jonas did not only proclaim a general fast, but they all did turn from their evil ways. But above all other, the history of Zaccheus is most notable: for being come unto our Saviour Jesus Christ, he said, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold." Here we see that after his repentance he was no more the same man that he was before. So far from continuing in his unsatiable covetousness, or taking aught away fraudulently from any man, he was most willing to give away his own, and to make satisfaction unto all them unto whom he had done injury and wrong. Let us, therefore, hearken to the voice of Almighty God, when he calleth us to repentance; let us not harden our hearts as such men do who abuse the time given them of God to repent, who turn it to continue their pride

and contempt against God and man, who know not how much they heap God's wrath upon themselves, for the hardness of their hearts, which cannot repent at the day of vengeance. When we have offended the law of God, let us repent of our straying from so good a Lord. Let us confess our unworthiness before him; let us trust in God's free mercy for Christ's sake for the pardon of the same; and from henceforth let us endeavour to walk in a new life, whereby we may glorify our Father which is in heaven, and bear in our consciences a good testimony of our faith; so that at the last, we may obtain the fruition of everlasting life, through the merits of our Saviour. Ye, therefore, that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways, draw near with faith, and make your humble confession to Almighty God, saying after me—

¶ Then shall this general Confession be made by the Minister, both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees, and saying,

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we, from time to time, most grievously have committed, By thought, word, or deed, against thy Divine Majesty, Provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; The burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, Have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; For thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, Forgive us all that is past; And grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, In newness of life, To the honour and glory of thy Name; Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Minister stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce this Absolution.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; Have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then shall be read, from the Bible version, the Psalms in order as they are appointed, and afterwards shall be read distinctly with an audible voice the First Lesson; taken out of the Old Testament.

¶ Then shall be sung or said the following Psalm.

Psalm 95.

¶ Then a Lesson of the New Testament, as it is appointed. And after that the followiny Psalm.

PSAL. 8. Domini Dominus noster.

1 O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy Name in all the earth: who hast set thy glory above the heavens! &c. &c.

¶ And after that, these prayers following, all devoutly kneeling; the Minister first pronouncing with a loud voice,

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Minister. Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ Then the Minister, Clerks, and people, shall say the Lord's Prayer;

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil; For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

The Collect.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Minister, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments; and the people still kneeling shall, after every Commandment, ask God mercy for their transgression thereof for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come, as followeth.

Minister.

God spake these words, and said; I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have

none other gods but me.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law. &c. &c. And after the Tenth Commandment—"Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee."

¶ Then the Minister shall say, hear also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

Let us pray.

O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments; that through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

¶ Then shall follow this Collect for the Queen, the Minister standing as before, and saying,

Let us pray.

Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy Word, that the hearts of Kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom: We humbly beseech

thee so to dispose and govern the heart of Victoria thy Servant, our Queen and Governor, that, in all her thoughts, words, and works, she may ever seek thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to her charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness: Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Chirst our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then shall be said the Collect of the Day. And immediately after the Collect the Minister shall read the Epistle, saying, The Epistle [or, The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle] is written in the —— Chapter of —— beginning at the —— Verse. And the Epistle ended, he shall say, Here endeth the Epistle. Then shall be read the Gospel, (the people all standing up,) saying, The holy Gospel is written in the —— Chapter of —— beginning at the —— Verse.

After which done, the Minister shall say,

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

Almighty and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers, and supplications, and to give thanks, for all men; We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: And grant, that all they that do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity, and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governours; and specially thy servant Victoria our Queen; that under her we may be godly and quietly governed: And grant unto her whole Council, and to all that are put in authority under her, that they

may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion, and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments: And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace; and especially to this congregation here present; that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear, and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear: beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

A Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee; and dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name thou wilt grant their requests: Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

2 Cor. xiii.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

3. After the first Lesson, the 98th Psalm

is to be read, and after the second Lesson, the 67th Psalm.

4. After the Collect for the day shall follow,

The second Collect at Evening Prayer.

O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed; Give unto thy servants that peace which the world cannot give; that both our hearts may be set to obey thy

[¶] The order for Evening Prayer for the 1st, 2d, and 3d Sundays in the month, may be the same as the order for Morning Prayer for each of those Sundays respectively, with the following exceptions:—

The Epistle and Gospel to be omitted.
 The Lessons and Psalms appointed for the Evening Service to be read.

commandments, and also that by thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies may pass our time in rest and quietness; through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The third Collect, for Aid against all Perils.

Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord; and by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night; for the love of thy only Son. our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

¶ For the fourth Sunday in the Month, and for the fifth when it occurs, any one of the preceding Services may be used at the discretion of the Minister.

¶ The third Morning Service is not to be used when there is a Communion.

¶ The Psalms or Hymns which shall be sung by the Choir to be at the discretion of the Minister.

¶ The Minister may use an extemporary prayer before and after the Sermon.

THE MINISTRATION OF

PUBLIC BAPTISM OF INFANTS,

TO BE USED IN THE CHURCH.

The People are to be admonished, that it is most convenient that Baptism should not be administered but upon Sundays, when the most number of people come together; as well for that the Congregation there present may testify the receiving of them that be newly baptized into the number of Christ's visible Church; as also because in the Baptism of Infants erery Mun present may be put in remembrance of his own dedication to God in his Baptism. Nevertheless, (if necessity so require,) Children may be baptized upon any other day.

Hear the words of the Gospel, written by Saint Mark, in the tenth Chapter, at the thirteenth Verse.

They brought young children to Christ, that he should touch them; and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

Then shall the Minister say,

O Merciful God, grant that the old Adam in this Child may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up in him. Amen.

Grant that all carnal affections may die in him, and that all things belonging to the Spirit may live and grow in him. Amen.

Grant that he may have power and strength to have victory, and to triumph against the devil, the world, and the flesh. Amen.

Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to thee by our office and ministry may also be endued with heavenly virtues, and everlastingly rewarded, through thy mercy. O blessed Lord

God, who dost live and govern allthings, world without end. Amen.

Almighty, everliving God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, did shed out of his most precious side both water and blood; and gave commandment to his disciples, that they should go teach all nations, and baptize them In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; Regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation; and grant that this Child, now to be baptized, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then the Minister shall take the child into his hands, and shall say to the friends of the child,

Name this Child.

¶ And then naming it after them, he shall dip it in the Water, or pour water upon it, or sprinkle it, saying,

N. I baptize thee In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

I Then the Minister shall say,

We receive this Child into the congregation of Christ's flock, in the hope that hereafter he will not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and

manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end.

¶ Then, all standing up, the Minister shall make this Exhortation to the friends of the child.

Ye must remember, that it is your parts and duties to see that this Infant may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a christian life; remembering alway, that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him; that, as he died, and rose again for us, so should we, who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness; contin-ually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.

A CATECHISM.

Catechist.

Rehearse the Articles of thy Belief.

Answer.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: &c. &c.

What dost thou chiefly learn in these Articles of thy Belief?

Answer. First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me, and all the world.

Secondly, in God the Son, who hath

redeemed me, and all mankind.

Thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth all the elect people of God. Question.

Tell me how many Commandments there be.

Answer. Ten.

Question. Which be they?

Answer.

The same which God spake in the twentieth Chapter of Exodus, saying, I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

1 Thou shalt have none other gods but me.—[Here follow the remaining Commandments.

Question.

What dost thou chiefly learn by these

Commandments?

Answer. I learn two things; my duty towards God, and my duty towards my neighbour.

Question. What is thy duty towards

God :

Answer. My duty towards God, is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength; to worship him, to give him thanks, to put my whole trust in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy Name and his Word, and to serve him truly all the days of my life.

Question. What is thy duty towards

thy Neighbour?

Answer. My duty towards my Neighbour, is to love him as myself, and to do to all men, as I would they should do unto me: To love, honour, and succour my father and mother: To honour and obey the Queen, and all that are put in authority under her: To submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters: To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters: To hurt no body by word or deed: To be true and just in all my dealings: To bear no malice or hatred in my heart: To keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil-speaking, lying, and slandering: to keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity: Not to covet nor desire other men's goods; but to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me.

Catechist. My good child, know this, that thou art not able to do these things of thyself, nor to walk in the Commandments of God, and to serve him, without his special grace; which thou must learn at all times to call for by diligent prayer. Let me hear, therefore, if thou canst say the Lord's Prayer.

Answer.

Our Father, which art in heaver, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Question. What desirest thou of God

in this Prayer?

Answer. I desire my Lord God our

heavenly Father, who is the giver of all goodness, to send his grace unto me, and to all people; that we may worship him, serve him, and obey him, as we ought to do. And I pray unto God, that he will send us all things that be needful both for our souls and bodies: and that he will be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins; and that it will please him to save and defend us in all dangers ghostly and bodily; and that he will keep us from all sin and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and And this I from everlasting death. trust he will do of his mercy and goodness, through our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore I say, Amen, So be it.

Question.

How many Sacraments hath Christ

ordained in his Church?

Answer. Two only, as generally necessary to salvation, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Question. What meanest thou by

this word Sacrament?

Answer. I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.

Question. How many parts are there

in a Sacrament?

Answer. Two; the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace.

Question. What is the outward visi-

ble sign or form in Baptism?

Answer. Water; wherein the person is baptized In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Question. What is the inward and spiritual grace?

Answer. A death unto sin, and a

new birth unto righteousuess.

Question. What is required of per-

sons who desire to be baptized?

Answer. Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that Sacrament.

Question. Why was the Sacrament

of the Lord's Supper ordained?

Answer. For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby.

Question. What is the outward part

or sign of the Lord's Supper?

Answer. Bread and Wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.

Question. What is the inward part, or

thing signified?

Answer. The Body and Blood of Christ, which are spiritually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

Question. What are the benefits

whereof we are partakers thereby?

Answer. The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the Bread and Wine.

Question. What is required of them

who come to the Lord's Supper?

Answer. To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death; and be in charity with all men.

THE ORDER FOR

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

* The Minister and Clerks meeting the Corpse at the entrance of the Churchyard, and goin hefore it, either into the Church, or towards the Grave, shall say, or sing,

I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. St. John xi. 25, 26.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God; whom I shall

see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another. Job xix. 25.

We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord. 1 Tim. vi. 7. Job i. 21.

¶ After they are come into the Church, shall be read one or both of these Psalms, following.

Psalm, 39.-Psalm, 90.

Then shall follow the Lesson taken out of the fifteenth Chapter of the former Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians.

1 Cor. xv. 20.

Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept, &c., [to the end of the Chapter.]

When they come to the grave, while the Corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth, the Minister shall say,

or the Choir shall sing:

Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down, like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay.

In the midst of life we are in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sius art

justly displeased?

Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter

pains of eternal death.

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts; shut not thy merciful ears to our prayer; but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not, at our last hour, for any pains of death, to fall from thee.

¶ Then, while the earth shall be cast upon the Body by some standing by, the Minister shall say.

For a smuch as is hath pleased Almighty God, in his wise Providence, to take out of this world the soul of our deceased Brother, we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust: looking for the general Resurrection, in the last day, and the life of the World to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ; at whose second coming in glorious majesty to judge the world, the Earth and the Sea shall give up their dead; and the corruptible bodies of those who sleep in Him shall be changed like unto his own glorious body, according to the mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.

Then shall be said or sung.

I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, from henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours.

Then the Minister shall say.

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

¶ Then the Minister shall say one or both of the following prayers, at his discretion.

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity; We give thee hearty thanks, for the good examples of all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we beseech thee, that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Collect.

O Merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrec-tion and the life; in whom whosoever believeth shall live, though he die; and whosoever liveth, and believeth in him, shall not die eternally; who also hath taught us, by his holy Apostle Saint Paul, not to be sorry, as men without hope, for them that sleep in him; We meekly beseech thee, O Father, to raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness; that, when we shall depart this life, we may rest in him; and that, at the general Resurrection in the last day, we may be found acceptable in thy sight; and receive that blessing, which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear thee, saying, Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world: Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

THE FORM OF

SOLEMNIZATION OF MATRIMONY.

¶ First the Banns of all that are to be married together by banns, must be published in the Church three several Sundays, during the time of Morning Service or of Evening Service, (if there be no Morning Service,) immediately after the second Lesson: the Curate saying after the accustomed manner,

I Publish the Banns of Marriage between \mathcal{M} . of — and N of —. If any of you know cause, or just impediment, why these two persons should not be joined together in holy Matrimony, ye are to declare it. Thirst [second or third] time of asking. This is the

At the day and time appointed for solemnization of Matrimony, the persons to be married shall come into the body of the Church with their friends and neighbours: and there standing, the Man on the right, and the Woman on the left, the Minister shall say,

Dearly beloved, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of this congregation, to join together this Man and this Woman in holy Matrimony; which is commended of Saint Paul to be honourable among all men: and therefore is not by any to be enterprised, nor taken in hand, unadvisedly, or lightly, but reverently, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God; into which holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined. Therefore if any man can shew any just cause, why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.

And also, speaking unto the persons that

shall be married, he shall say,

I require and charge you both, as ye will answer at the dreadful day of judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, that if either of you know any impediment, why ye may not be lawfully joined together in Matrimony, ye do now confess it. For be ye well assured, that so many as are coupled together otherwise than God's Word doth allow are not joined together by God; neither is their Matrimony lawful.

If no impediment be atleged, then shall the

Curate say unto the Man,
M.-Wilt thou have this Woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?

I The Man shall answer, 1 will. ¶ Then shall the Minister say unto the

Woman,

N .- Wilt thou have this Man to thy wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou obey him, and serve him, love, honour, and keep him in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him, so long as ye both shall live?

The Woman shall answer, I will. ¶ Then shall the Minister say,

Who giveth this Woman to be married to this Man?

Then shall they give their troth to each other in this manner.

The Minister, receiving the Woman at her father's or friend's hands, shall cause the

Man with his right hand to take the Woman by her right hand, and to say after him as

followeth,
I M. take thee N. to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I plight thee my troth.

Then shall they loose their hands; and the Woman, with her right hand taking the Man by his right hand, shall likewise say

after the Minister,

I N. take thee M. to my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward. for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I give thee

my troth

Then shall they again loose their hands; and the Man shall give unto the Woman a Ring, laying the same upon the book. And the Minister, taking the Ring, shall deliver it unto the Man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the Woman's left hand, and leaving it there, they shall both kneel down: and the Minister shall say,

Let us pray.

O Eternal God, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, Giver of all spiritual grace, the Author of everlasting life; Send thy blessing upon these thy servants, this man and this woman, whom we bless in thy Name; that, as Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and the covenant betwixt them made, (whereof this Ring given and received is a token and pledge,) and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to thy laws; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

I Then shall the Minister join their right hands together, and say,

Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

I Then shall the Minister speak unto the

people.

Forasmuch as M. and N. have consented together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same before God and this company, and thereto have given and pledged their troth either to other, and have declared the same by giving and receiving of a Ring, and joining of hands; I pronounce that they be Man and Wife together, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

¶ And the Minister shall add this Blessing. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, bless, prescrve, and keep you; the Lord mercifully with his favour look upon you; and so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, that ye may so live together in this life, that in the world to come ye may have life everlasting. Amen.

THE SECOND REFORMATION.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FORMATION OF A

CHURCH REFORMATION SOCIETY;

AN OUTLINE OF THE CHANGES IT IS PROPOSED TO MAKE;

AND A SKETCH OF

THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

AS IT IS INTENDED TO BE AFTER

THE SECOND REFORMATION.

BY THE

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ELEVENTH THOUSAND.

LONDON:

JOHN GREEN, 121, NEWGATE STREET; AND SAMUEL GIBBS, 5, UNION STREET, BATH.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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PREFACE.

The Parliament of 1643 thus speaks in a preamble of an Act intended to Reform the Liturgy and Constitution of the Church of England.

"Whereas, amongst the infinite blessings of Almighty God upon this nation, none is nor can be more dear unto us than the purity of our religion; and for that as yet many things remain in the Liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church, which do necessarily require a further and more perfect reformation than as yet hath been attained, * * * they are resolved that the same shall be taken away; and that such a government shall be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad," &c.

Lord Bacon thus speaks—"To my lords, the bishops, I say, that it is hard for them to avoid blame, in the opinion of an indifferent person, in standing so precisely, in altering nothing. Laws not refreshed with new laws wax sour. To take away abuses supplanteth not good orders but establisheth them. A contentious retaining of a custom is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation." He also asks, "Why the civil state should be purged and restored by wholesome laws made every third or fourth year in Parliament, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief; and, contrariwise, the ecclesiastical state should still continue upon the dregs of time?"

Locke says—" The Church, in the days of Edward VI., did more to a full reformation in two years, than has been done in one hundred years since; and though that Church and this have the same name of the Church of England, yet I imagine the Dissenters think they are under far different churchmen; and do very much doubt whether the conduct of these now, and of those then, tend both the same way." "The Reformers did not so much contend for as

against ceremonies."

Bishop Burnet says—"The requiring subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles is a great imposition. * * * The greater part subscribe to them without even examining them; and others do it, though they can hardly satisfy their consciences about some things in them." "Our worship is the perfectest composition of devotion that we find in any Church ancient or modern; yet the corrections that were agreed to by a deputation of bishops and divines, in the year 1689, would make the whole frame of our Liturgy still more perfect, and will, I hope, some time or other, be better entertained than they were then."

Bishop Stillingfleet proposes a variety of liberal reforms.

Milton, the writer of "Paradise Lost," says, "What harm the excess thereof (i. e. wealth) brought to the Church, perhaps was not found by experience till the days of Constantine, who, out of his zeal, thinking he could be never too liberally a nursing father of the Church, might be not unfitly said to have either overlaid it or choked it in the nursing; which was foretold, as is recorded in ecclesiastical traditions, by a voice heard from heaven, on the very day that those great donations and church revenues were given, crying aloud, 'This day is poison poured into the church,' which the event soon after verified, as appears by another no less ancient observation, that 'Religion brought forth wealth, and the daughter devoured the mother.'"

The Homily against Peril of Idolatry says, "They were then preaching bishops, and more often seen in pulpits than in princes' palaces, more often occupied in his legacy, who said, "Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all men," than in affairs of princes of this world. And as they were most zealous and diligent, so they were of excellent learning and godliness of life, and by both of great authority and credit with the people, and so of more force and likelihood to persuade the people, and the people more like to believe

and follow their doctrine."

THE SECOND REFORMATION,

OR PROPOSALS FOR INSTITUTINO A

CHURCH REFORMATION SOCIETY,

For the purpose of carrying on in the Church of England the great work of Reformation, begun by Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and others, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and left imperfect in the reign of Elizabeth.

It is proposed, as soon as practicable, to convene a public meeting in London, at which a Church Reformation Society shall be formed, and a

Committee and office bearers appointed.

In order to guard the Society from the endeavour, on the part of men of narrow minds, sectarian spirit, or tyrannical bearing, to force their peculiar creeds and observances upon their fellow men, the Society shall adopt the Scripture as the only rule of faith, and the public good as the only object at which to aim. In order to preserve this essential safeguard of religious freedom, and this only guide amongst endless opinions and traditions, all public documents of the Society shall contain on their title page the following portion of the 6th Article of the Church of England: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be

thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

The objects of the Church Reformation Society will be, to call public attention to the present state of the Church of England;* to prove to the people that ecclesiastical abuses either cause or increase all other social evils; and that the removal of them would facilitate all other desirable reforms; to hold meetings and to deliver lectures in all the towns of the empire; to cultivate the feelings of Christian brotherhood towards all other Protestant Churches and denominations, and to invite their coöperation; to circulate tracts; to furnish information to the public press; and as soon as sufficient funds shall have been provided, to establish a weekly periodical, under the title of "The Church Reform Gazette;" to collect, through various channels, information respecting the amount of ecclesiastical property, with its use and abuse in each locality; to watch the progress of Pusevism; and to report all cases of bigotry and superstition, and of intolerant and uncharitable proceedings towards dissenters; to trace the evils of the Church to its wealth and power and to its intimate union with the State; to point out the worldly spirit, the selfishness, the covetousness and ambition which its lordly titles and princely emoluments have introduced amongst the clergy; to ascertain the number of intelligent persons in Great Britain and Ireland who are favourable to a bold and efficient measure of Church Reform; to furnish an opportunity for the correspondence and cooperation of all friends of true religion by forming

^{*} See an able pamphlet, recently published, entitled, "The present State of the Church of England exposed, by a Member of the Church of Scotland." Simpkin and Marshall, London.

local associations in connexion with the parent Society; and finally to address memorials to the clergy and people of England; and to forward petitions to her Majesty and to both Houses of Parliament in behalf of

the glorious work of the SECOND REFORMATION.

In order to invite to this Society men of enlarged views and fearless spirit, and to keep from it timid and timeserving persons, the following DECLARATION contains, in a plain and comprehensive form, the principles and objects which it is thought desirable to recommend for general adoption, as far as they may appear to be in accordance with the Scripture, and calculated to promote the public good.

THE DECLARATION:

BEING

An Outline of the Changes which it is proposed to make in Ecclesiastical affairs, and a Sketch of the Constitution of the Church of England as it is intended to be after the Second Reformation.

1.—'The Bishops to be removed from the House of Lords.

2.—The titles and offices of Prelate, Dean, Archdeacon, Canon, Prebendary, and all other titles and offices connected with cathedrals, to be abolished.

3.—The titles of Rector, Vicar, and Priest to be abolished.

4.—The designation of the clergy to be Ministers of Religion, Preachers of the Gospel, Pastors of Congregations, Bishops, and Curates.

5.—All patronage to cease; and an equitable adjustment to be made

with existing patrons in such cases as may deserve it.

6.—The revenues of bishoprics and cathedrals, together with the income of all livings arising from tithes, glebe lands, or Queen Anne's Bounty, to be placed in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

7.—The palaces of bishops, and the houses of deans and chapters, to be sold, and the proceeds thereof to be placed in the hands of the Eccle-

siastical Commissioners.

8.—All clergymen who desire it, to be permitted to return to the ranks of laymen, to enter any other profession, or to hold any other office, as if

they had never been ordained.

9.—Out of the Ecclesiastical Revenue, which from the sources above described, would exceed six millions sterling annually, to appropriate two millions to the payment of ministers of religion, giving to each an average of £200 or £250 a-year.

10.—To recommend all congregations, that have the ability and disposition, to support their own ministers, and thus to set at liberty that portion

of Ecclesiastical income which had been allotted to them.

11.—To appropriate the remaining four millions of Ecclesiastical Revenue to the purposes for which it was originally designed—the relief of the poor, the repair of parochial edifices, and the support of a school in every parish; and thus to supersede the necessity for compulsory religion and compulsory charity; and to abolish all Church Rates and Poor Rates.

12.—To transfer the relief of the poor from Boards of Guardians to the respective parishes and congregations to which they belong; to divide each parish into districts; to institute inspectors, after the manner of the primitive deacons, who may exercise a careful supervision over the poor, and guide the charity of the benevolent.

13.—To set apart for the training of ministers those Colleges in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford which are called Divinity Colleges; the object of whose founders was more especially to encourage the study of divinity, and the fellowships of which can only be permanently held by clergymen; and in such colleges, besides a competent share of all other useful learning, to communicate to the students a more complete knowledge of the doctrines and precepts of Scripture, and to prepare them, by the sound principles of moral and political science, and by the practice of public speaking, to instruct all classes of men in their duty.

14.—To allow the members of a congregation to elect their own minister from amongst those who have already been ordained, or who shall have obtained a degree in such Divinity College, after having first heard him preach, and after having in other respects satisfied themselves

of his fitness.

15 .- Instead of prelacy, to institute a moderate episcopacy; to the right understanding of which it is necessary to take into consideration the following circumstances. The diocese of a Bishop, under the present system, is divided into Archdeaconries, and each Archdeaconry into Rural Deaneries; and to the Rural Dean is allotted the work of visiting each parish, in order to inspect the parish church and parsonage, to give directions to the Churchwardens when anything necessary to divine service is wanting or out of repair, and to report to the Bishop of the diocese the state of things, and the attention which has been paid to the directions given in former years. Thus, with the exception of ordination, granting of licences, and a triennial visitation to the chief towns of the diocese, and delivering at each a charge to the Clergy of that Rural Deanery, the oversight of parishes and the duties of overseer or bishop, as regards the vast majority of small towns and villages, are committed to the Rural Dean. In the early times of the Christian Church, a bishop was the pastor of one congregation; but when the population increased, the people, not liking to cut off all connexion with their beloved pastor, erected other edifices in the neighbouring villages as chapels of ease to the mother church, the ministers of which were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the mother church; and hence the beginning of a diocese, and the gradual change from parochial to diocesan episcopacy. This episcopacy in its second stage, before the adventitious appendages of wealth and power were added, more nearly resembled, in the extent of its jurisdiction, a rural deanery of modern times than a diocese; and there can be no way of returning to the simplicity of episcopacy so easy as by forming each rural deanery into an episcopal district. For example, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, which comprises the whole county of Somerset, there are three Archdeaconries, Bath, Wells, and Taunton. In the Archdeaconry of Wells there are six rural deaneries. In the deanery of Frome, which is one of the six, there are about fifty-three parishes; one half of which are inspected annually by the Rural Dean, and the other half by another clergyman who acts as his deputy. Whilst the bishop of the diocese receives £5000 a-year, the rural dean, who performs the work of annual inspector, receives no emolument, but suffers pecuniary loss; and it is the declared opinion of some who hold this office, that it ought to be held annually by all the incumbents in rotation. If, therefore, in a district containing not less than twenty nor more than forty parishes, the ministers of religion, accompanied by the churchwardens, were to meet and elect one

of their number, being a minister of not less than forty years of age, as their bishop, either for one year or for a term of years, a moderate and salutary episcopacy might be adopted in the place of the present system.

16.—The duties of a bishop to be, to preside at all meetings of the clergy; to visit every parish within his jurisdiction, at least once a-year; to preach in the church; publicly to set apart for his office the minister whom the members of the congregation have chosen; to visit the parochial schools; to examine the progress of the children; to enquire into the progress of religious and charitable institutions; to observe the state of the poor; to inspect the parish church and the parsonage; to give suitable advice to the minister and office bearers of the church; to decide any case which the people may have left to his arbitration; and to prepare an annual report of

the state of each parish.

17.—That a written invitation, signed by the majority of the members of the congregation, shall be a sufficient proof of election, and a sufficient warrant to the bishop to appoint, set apart, or license that minister; such written invitation to be after the following manner:—"We, the undersigned, being inhabitants of the parish of —, in the county of —, taking into our consideration the destitute state of the congregation of the parish church of the said parish, through the want of a gospel ministry among us, occasioned by the death (or removal) of our late pastor ----, and being satisfied with the learning, abilities, and other good qualifications of you ---- preacher of the gospel, and having heard you preach to our satisfaction and edification, do hereby invite and call you, the said ---, to come and labour amongst us in the work of the gospel ministry, hereby promising you all due respect and encouragement. We likewise request the bishop and clergy of this episcopal district to use all proper means for making effectual this our most cordial call, by your ordination and settlement among us, as soon as the steps necessary thereto will admit. In witness whereof, we subscribe our names at the church of ----, on this, the —— day of ——, in the year ——."

18.—The clergy to meet quarterly for mutual advice and counsel; to hear complaints against those of their own body who may have caused scandal, or who may be at variance with their people; and to receive the report of the bishop respecting those parishes which he may have

visited during the quarter.

19.—All the clergy shall be equal; nor shall the bishop be distinguished by peculiarity of dress, wealth, or power. To exercise influence by the excellent spirit that is in him shall be the aim of the bishop who would be approved; but neither the bishops amongst the clergy, nor the clergy amongst the people, shall exercise lordship over God's heritage, but, as ensamples to the flock, lead them in the good and the right way. The bishop shall be provided with a curate during the term of his office.

20.—The clergy may use or dispense with the surplice or gown as to

them and their congregations may seem fit.

21.—Ministers may be permitted to preach in any place of worship to which they may be invited; and, with consent of churchwardens, may invite any recognised minister of the Scotch, American, Moravian, Independent, Wesleyan, Baptist, &c. churches to preach in their pulpits.

22.—In every congregation those persons who consent to take the Bible as their only rule of faith, and whose conduct appears to be guided

by its precepts, shall be deemed members of the Church, and shall be enrolled as such on a Church list, according to the 19th Article of the Church of England, which says, "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered;" and all candidates for church membership shall be admitted at one of the meetings of church members, after such examination into their life and conduct, as may be deemed satisfactory; and all offences which require discipline towards any member of the church shall be examined into by all the members, the minister presiding, and shall be decided by a majority of votes. The members of each church to form a court of arbitration, before which all disputes between two members shall be brought, and, if possible, settled without litigation.

23. The Liturgy to be revised and rendered more strictly conformable to Scripture, according to a power ascribed to a church by the 24th Article of the Church of England, which says,—"Every particular or national church, hath authority to ordain, change, or abolish ceremonies or rites of the church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." The offices of baptisms, marriages, and burials, and the catechism to be amended; and until some more eligible form of service shall have been prepared, the revised Liturgy set forth in the tract now published, entitled, "The Reformed Prayer Book of

1842," is recommended for general adoption.

24.—A general meeting of the Clergy to be held annually in some one of the large towns of the kingdom in rotation; to which the clergy of every county shall send their representatives; the number of representatives and manner of election to be left for future determination. this annual council the reports from each episcopal district shall be considered; the general state of religion at home and abroad; the differences of opinion in matters of religion; increase or decrease of crime, pauperism, and infidelity; popular fallacies and superstitions; errors in public legislation affecting the peace of the empire and the prosperity of the working classes; to prepare regulations which shall permit ministers of distinguished piety and discretion to lay aside the prescribed formularies and to offer up extemporary prayer in the church; to mark the manner in which the voluntary principle in religion or charity operates in those parishes which have undertaken to support their ministers and their poor without help from ecclesiastical funds; and to observe the effect of endowments generally upon religious, charitable, and educational institutions: and if there be any other matters in which the general welfare of mankind demands their services, or in which they may by their prudence and benevolence become benefactors to the human race, seriously to consider and calmly to discuss these things. At the close of the council the substance of their deliberations shall be carefully abridged, and forwarded as a pastoral letter to the ministers and people of the episcopal church throughout the kingdom.

25.—Churches and burial grounds to be no longer consecrated, such consecration tending to create false impressions, and to perpetuate foolish superstitions amongst the ignorant. Saints' days to be left out of the calendar; and besides Sundays no days to be regarded except Good Friday and Christmas day. The Sabbath to be regarded as the day of rest from all worldly occupations and care, and as a day of religious worship and moral

improvement, but not with superstitious veneration as among the Jews. The Sabbath being made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, all works

of necessity and works of mercy may be performed on that day.

26.—From the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the Church of the Second Reformation, all penal laws, canons, acts of uniformity, and compulsory statutes connected with religion, shall be repealed. No person in authority shall henceforth make a distinction between one man and another on account of his creed or mode of worship; nor shall it be required of Members of Parliament, or Town Councillors, or holders of any office in Church or State, to take an oath or make a declaration that they will protect the privileges or property of the Church from any change or reformation which the superior wisdom of future years may deem expedient; but the way of improvement shall be left open, so that all persons and all denominations of Christians may proceed in the search of truth without impediment.

Those persons who do not agree with every part of the above DECLA-RATION, but who, nevertheless, desire a large and efficient measure of Church Reform, are invited to join the proposed Church Reformation Society; the object of the DECLARATION being to draw forth the brave, to keep back the cowardly, and to protect the consistent members from a charge, which, in the absence of such a document, might at some future time be made, of going beyond the original intention of the Society.

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PEOPLE'S RIGHTS:

AND

HOW TO GET THEM.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, and late Fellow of St.

John's College, Cambridge.

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THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS: AND HOW TO GET THEM.

DISCONTENT is the grand stimulus to exertion. Dissatisfaction with present attainments is quite consistent with gratitude to the Giver of all good for the privileges already enjoyed. Men act according to the will of the Creator when they seek those higher degrees of excellence of which he has made their nature capable. From the improvement of individuals will follow the general elevation of society, and the progress of nations Mighty nations have had their decline and fall, because their glory consisted in military splendour, and their dominion was that of terror and blood. The age of philosophy has been succeeded by dark ages, because that philosophy sanctioned foolish superstitions, and contained but little practical wisdom. Yet the general tide of intelligence has been advancing; the world has been learning by its mistakes; and still the average character of mankind is that of progress. The man who is celebrated for physical strength, and the nation that is powerful in war, will still have their decline and fall; but when a man or a nation seeks prosperity by honest industry and increasing intelligence, there is reason to expect such prosperity to be permanent. Plants may vegetate, animals live, and brutish men exist without consciousness of imperfection. The abject dependant upon another's bounty,—the helpless being who relies with implicit faith on the political or religious creed of those around him, may rest satisfied with their lot; but the man of less torpid soul will strive to improve himself and the circumstances in which he is placed. Apostle Paul had learned to bear with patience the evils which he could not remove; having food and raiment he was therewith content; yet, when longing after moral excellence, he exclaims, "O wretched man that I am!" And, whilst aware that he was not behind the chief of the apostles, he could say, "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after. Forgetting those things that are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark." Philippians iii. 12.

Discontent must not however be allowed to degenerate into fretfulness and passion. Healthful vitality is not more distinct from burning fever than is a determined pursuit of a certain object from an augry violence with the persons who oppose our progress. None ever met with more cruel treatment from unreasonable men than the apostles; yet, when foretelling their troubles, their Master's command was, "In patience possess ye your souls:" and when that Master himself accomplished the great work which he had undertaken, his undaunted zeal was tempered with mildness; he was meek and lowly in heart. Blustering words and threats of blood may proceed from the bullying demagogue, but gentleness of speech and boldness of action will mark the patriot and philanthropist. Between the indolent repose in the midst of wrong, and the impatient demand for right, the medium is well defined by the Apostle Paul in his advice to slaves: "Art thou called, being a servant (slave): care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it

rather." 1 Cor. vii. 21. As though he had said, "Avoid unnecessary anxiety respecting evils that cannot be remedied; yet if there be any opportunity of removing these evils, by all means lay hold of it; whilst you are slaves, your minds may be free, and you may become wise and good men; but since freedom is more favourable to mental culture than slavery, therefore get it if you can!" He also closely connects the seeking advantages for ourselves with advocating the rights of other men. "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, and them which suffer adversity as being yourselves in the body." Heb. xiii.

3. That is, "So imagine the chain of the slaves to be about your own bodies, so feel the lash as applied to your own backs, as to make those strenuous efforts for their deliverance which you would wish others to

make for you were you so situated." Notwithstanding these obvious reasons, men of affluence are surprised at the discontent of their less fortunate neighbours. Faring sumptuously every day, they cannot enter into the feelings of the famished wretch at their gate. Secured from all risks and losses of trade, from their high position of independent fortune, they look down upon the restless masses beneath, and, with dignified pity, they ask,-Of what can the people complain? How little they know their own privileges! Do they not live in a land of liberty, the very touch of whose soil gives freedom to the slave? Is not the British Constitution, with its limited monarchy and nicely balanced aristocracy and democracy, the wonder of the Have they not trial by jury, and courts of justice open to rich and poor alike? Is there not a public provision for the destitute, so that no man can starve? Are there not all kinds of charitable institutions, founded and supported by the gentry? Is there not a well endowed establishment to furnish spiritual instruction and consolation in the Poor Man's Church? How is it that the people are not satisfied?—It is because the British Constitution has been made an instrument of benefit to the few and of oppression to the many! It is because the balance of the aristocracy and democracy has been destroyed; and the House of Commons, which was intended, as its name imports, for the representatives of the common people, is under the influence of the aristocracy! It is because the courts of justice, though open to all, do, by the uncertainty and expense of the law, offer to the rich that redress of injuries which they deny to the poor! It is because the boasted freedom of Englishmen has been taken from them by Corn Laws and taxes upon all the necessaries of life, which require a greater amount of labour and toil than that which is exacted from the slave, and make it difficult for a man, however diligent in his business, to obtain a bare subsistence for himself and family! It is because the people begin to scorn that public charity which is offered as a substitute for public justice, and to despise the men, who, whilst refusing to remove the causes of poverty, offer the bribe of charity in order to keep the people quiet in the midst of their wrongs! It is because the people, conscious of a more sublime destiny, desire better things for themselves than to eat their daily bread at the will of others! It is because, as stewards who must one day give an account of what they have done for themselves, and not of what others have done for them, they wish to supply their present wants by their own industry; and to provide, by sobriety and economy, for a time of sickness and old age! It is because the Poor Man's Church has, by its splendid emoluments, become a source of gain to the rich; and because, unlike the Founder of Christianity and his apostles, who pronounced woes upon the great, and warned rich men to weep and howl for the miseries that were coming upon them, the ministers of the church denounce the vices of the poor, and allow the bribery and unjust legislation of the rich to pass without rebuke; and, instead of defending the rights of industry, like the priest and levite of former

days, they pass by on the other side. Discontent in England is even greater than they suspect who look down upon the surface of society, but who have not access to the depths beneath; and it will increase until there comes a revolution as great as when the States of America declared their independence, unless by timely concession of just rights the people may be satisfied with a less sweeping change. This discontent differs from all previous discontent, inasmuch as it is mingled with gloomy desperation. The hopes that were raised by the Reform Bill have been succeeded by disappointment. William IV., when beloved as the patriot King, forfeited the confidence of the people by dismissing his ministry when they were endeavouring to serve the popular cause. The first reformed Parliament, which the nation took such pains to elect, was dismissed by Sir R. Peel, before it had done its work. The people have not, to this day, recovered from the stunning effects of that slap in the nation's face. It was of little use to exert themselves in the election of representatives when it was in the power of a prime minister to render their exertion void by a dissolution. The subsequent perplexity of registration courts, joined to the overpowering influence of wealth, still further dispirited the people, and prevented the election of proper persons to serve in Parliament. their disappointment they called upon the authors of the Reform Bill to provide securities for the exercise of their rights; but Earl Grey, with the timidity of old age, seemed to tremble at his own work, and peevishly complained of the pressure from without. Lord John Russell declared that the Reform Bill was intended to give the landed interest a preponderance in the House of Commons; and that he considered it a final measure. Lord Stanley and Sir J. Graham retired from the Liberal Sir F. Burdett forsook the people, by whom he had been idolized, and went over to the party which was regarded by them as their enemies. These circumstances induced the people to withdraw their confidence from the leaders of political parties. From that time their energies have been paralyzed, and a suspicious distrust of the wealthy has taken possession of their minds. This distrust has been increased by the poor becoming poorer and the rich becoming richer; leading to the natural inference, that the miserable poverty of the one class is owing to the superfluous wealth of another; and to the further inference, that wealth finds its way into that class which makes the laws, whilst it departs from those who have no voice in legislation. It has become, therefore, their fixed determination to strike at the root of the evil; and to require that the laws which affect the rights and liberties of all, shall in future be made by men chosen by all. This discontented spirit is but the commencement of intellectual and political life; and, so far from being ashamed of it, they have determined not to rest satisfied until all taxes are paid by realized property—until the gates of office and honour are thrown open to the diligent, the virtuous, and the wise. For these

things they have agitated the country, and although at public meetings they have sometimes added clamour and confusion to the expression of their wishes, and have deprived their fellow citizens of that freedom of speech which they claimed for themselves, yet they did it ignorantly, and because they knew no better way of making known their sentiments.

In order to prevent the future misapplication of popular strength, and in order that victory may be sure and speedy, it is necessary that the people have a distinct idea of the rights which they are preparing to demand; and that they devise suitable means to obtain those rights. As a friend to the popular cause, determined to be guided by the rule of right, wherever that may lead, I proceed to consider these two things:-THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS: and HOW TO GET THEM.

I. THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS.—These were set forth in general terms by the people of the United States in a Declaration; in which, in order to render it more applicable to the present times, for the word King,

should be substituted Government, or Aristocracy.

DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to

the separation

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations upon such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these ates. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the

public good.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent

of our legislatures, &c. &c.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved

from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

The People's Rights may, however, be more particularly declared as—

1. The right to earn a living with the fewest possible impediments. The rights of industry are the most important of all rights, and an honest man will claim no other subsistence than that which he can acquire by his own labour. Cobbett, in his "Advice to Young Men," says—

"Start, I beseech you, with this conviction firmly fixed in your mind, that being of hale body and sound mind, you have no right to any earthly existence without doing work of some sort or other; unless you have ample fortune whereon to live clear of debt; and that even then you have no right to breed children, to be kept by others, or to be exposed to the chance of being so kept. To wish to live on the labour of others is, besides the folly of it, to contemplate a fraud, at the least; and under certain circumstances, to meditate oppression and robbery. Write it on your heart, that you will depend solely on your own merit and your own exertions."

And of himself he says-"A father like ours, it will be readily supposed, did not suffer us to eat the bread of idleness. I do not remember the time when I did not earn my own living." And when he became a Member of Parliament he ascribed all his success in life to his early habits of industry. Labour and toil are, however, by no means pleasant to men in general. There are always indolent men amongst the rich who will desire to live on State pensions; and idle men amongst the poor who will try to obtain parish pay; but the divine command applies to all without exception-"Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do." Before a man complains, therefore, of the infringements of the rights which society owe to him, let him take care to respect this right which he owes to them, that he will not be burdensome to them, but will support himself and family by his industry. He is an enemy to mankind who would claim for one part of the community a right to subsist upon the labour or property of another part: this will, in the long run, inevitably impoverish those who are compelled to pay, and degrade those who receive. All experience shews the truth of the assertion made by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, that "Every permanent fund set apart for the support of the poor, from whomsoever proceeding, and by whomsoever administered, must needs multiply the evils it is intended to remedy."

On the other hand, he who labours has a right to demand from society that there shall be the fewest possible impediments in the way of obtaining his own living. There are natural impediments which are unavoidable, and which exercise a salutary discipline over the human race, calling forth contrivance and forethought, and promoting the vigour of body and mind. The field must be cultivated before the bread can be eaten; water must be got out of wells, metals out of mines. Long continued rain perplexes the farmer; the tempest scatters the ships of the merchant; and every man must exercise his faculties to foresee and provide against the calamities that may befal him. But

whoever adds to these difficulties adds to the primeval curse; and if he make those difficulties so great as to render it scarcely possible for a man to live by his labour, he takes from that curse the merciful promise that was included in it—" In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." Legislators have ever been interfering with the rights of industry. Whatever ties a man to a particular place, or limits the number of men engaged in any trade or employment;—whatever confers any monopoly or peculiar privilege on some at the expense of the rest;—whatever checks invention, meddles with machinery, or dictates the rate of wages;—whatever prevents a man from taking his labour or goods to the best market, or prevents his getting the largest amount of the necessaries of life in return for his labour or goods, from any quarter of the globe;—whatever makes commerce less free than the winds which blow over all lands, or than the ocean which washes every shore, places unnecessary

obstacles in the way of getting a living.

2. The right to keep property when acquired, with the fewest possible demands upon it .- The origin of property is labour. When land was common, the man who brought a piece into cultivation, and bestowed upon it his labour, not only rendered an important service to society by adding to the supply of food, but acquired a better right to the produce than any other man; and if the chief value of the land arose from the labour he had bestowed upon it, it might be deemed his property; in the same manner as a house was the property of him who had taken the trouble to build it, or a boat the property of him who, out of the timber in the forest, had by his labour and skill constructed it. Nothing so much stimulates labour and skill as the institution of private property. Who would sow if another might reap? Who would plant trees if others might gather the fruits? In all ages men have had flocks and herds of their own rearing, and gardens of their own cultivating. scripture ascribes the origin of it to the Divine Being: "Thou shalt remember the Lord thy God: for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth." Deut. viii. 18. And when the wisest of men "went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding," he did not complain of his possessing such field and vineyard; but that "it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down." Prov. xxiv. 30. And although labour is the first title to property, yet when property has been acquired, another man may purchase it by his labour, or by money, which is the representative of labour. It may also be possessed by free gift, or inherited by will; as the man who had converted a tree into a boat, has a right to give or bequeath that boat; or if he has reared a dog or a horse, he has a right to give the same to another man. The recognition of the right of property is as important to him that possesses only a pig or a cow, the furniture of his cottage, or the tools of his labour, as it is to the owner of the lordly mansion or the extensive estate. It is also a security against waste, and prevents those quarrels respecting the enjoyment of it which would occur in the absence of such right

There must, however, be some demands upon property. There will always be found bad men who prefer plunder to labour; and in order to enable honest men to attend to their business, it becomes necessary to appoint a number of persons to protect the property of the rest, to hear complaints, and to decide disputes; and as these persons will be thus

taken from their usual occupation, it becomes necessary to support them at the public expense. This is the origin of government and of taxation; which when devoted to the good of all, ought to be supported by all in proportion to their property. The expenses, however, of a just government are very small; and the rights of property require that the least possible amount that is consistent with security, and a sense of security, shall be taken away. Taxation becomes unjust, when those to whom the power of taxing is entrusted use it for other purposes than for the preservation of order. Taxes raised for the teaching of religion, for the building of places of worship, for the undertaking for the people the education of their children, for the dispensing of their alms, for granting of pensions, for extending the boundaries of empire, for interfering with the affairs of other nations, for controlling commerce, and for standing armies and useless wars, are so many infringements of this right. Taxes for these purposes are so much robbery; and though not taken by directly seizing upon a man's estate, yet they are not the less a robbery, and perhaps still more impoverishing than the occasional plunder of ordinary thieves, or the despotic violence of lawless tyrants; because, when taken in the shape of duties upon articles of daily use, their plunder is secret and perpetual, and they require a large and expensive establishment of officials. Still worse is it when governments, after getting what they can from the existing generation, borrow of posterity, and rob, by means of a national debt, the generations yet unborn. The rights of property are also invaded by ecclesiastical, educational, and charitable endowments, which not only become prolific sources of corruption, but actually derive their value from the industry of the present day, and are therefore a tax upon all other property. An estate, for instance, which has been left to a Grammar School, and which, when the testator made his will, was worth £10 a year, but which is now worth £5000 a year, derives its chief value from those who have built upon and improved it, who are thus made to give the produce of their labour to an endowment over which they have no control. It is high time for the world to throw off the dominion of the dead; and to place the land under the entire management of the living. The rights of property will allow a man to sell, give, or bequeath his property to another, but not to tie it up throughout perpetual generations. By endowments and by the law of primogeniture, the living are not only governed by the acts of the dead, but by such acts as those dead, if now alive, would be the last to sanction. They whose only object was to push forward their fellow creatures are now the means of keeping them back; and the most enlightened men of former days are now, in this age of science and discoveries, made the dispensers of heathen mythology and of a useless smattering of Latin and Greek. These endowments ought to be taken by the State, and, with the least possible injury to the present possessors, appropriated to the payment of the National Debt. The very existence of a public school, with an endowment of £20,000 a-year, originally intended for the education of the poor in the most useful learning that could then be got, but now appropriated to the giving of a most imperfect and worthless classical education to the sons of the rich, is a disgrace to our land.

3. The right of every man to worship God according to his conscience.—When men depute the work of keeping order and of settling disputes to

a government, they do not thereby imply that the members of that government are competent to decide for the rest what is truth in religion, any more than what is truth in natural philosophy, chemistry, or astronomy; all they commit to their charge is the protecting of their persons and property, whilst they manage their own affairs, perform their own religious services, and attend to their own studies. Even were governments infallible as to their own views of religion, they could not by enactments of law make other men religious. The allegiance of the soul is due to a higher power, in whose sight compulsory service is as no service at all. Religion derives its character from the motive, the principle, the understanding, and the affections. It requires sincerity of purpose, fervency of zeal, and consistency of conduct; and cares not for the mere name, the form, the creed, and the place. Right principles, right feelings, and right conduct, are not the results of legislation, but of sound instruction, affectionate persuasion, and personal example. Every man ought to enjoy liberty of conscience so long as his observances do not interfere with the rights and liberties of other men. He has no right to attempt to force his creed upon other men. No rewards should be held out to any one creed above the rest, nor penalties attached to any, but, in this solemn matter, men should be left to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. All compulsory payments, therefore, for religion, such as church rates, are unjust; and all national property dedicated to ecclesiastical purposes should be, with due consideration to present possessors, resumed by the State, and applied to the liquidation of its overwhelming debt.

4. The Right to Good Government .- Man has a right to that which God intended for him. The Bible does not enjoin any particular form of government; we must therefore adopt other means of ascertaining God's intentions "The method of coming at the will of God concerning any action by the light of nature," says Dr. Paley, "is to enquire into the tendency of the action to promote or diminish the general happiness." But good government has, more than most things, the tendency to promote the general happiness; therefore it is according to the will of God, and may be claimed by the people as a right. It is, however, important to discover what is good government. When the Israelites became very numerous, Moses said to them, "How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden, and your strife?" and he directed them to select fit persons from among themselves to supply his place. "Take you wise men and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you. And ye answered me and said, 'The thing which thou hast spoken is good for us to do.'" And he lays down for the chiefs so appointed this admirable rule of conduct—" Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's." Deut. i. 12. These judges of Israel did not assert any claim to pomp or wealth. Expensive government was not of God's appointment, but the result of man's ignorance and obstinacy. The people were captivated by the splendour of royalty which they beheld in surrounding nations, and were led to desire the institution of monarchy. They were warned by the prophet Samuel of the

costliness and oppression which would accompany that form of government. He described the manner of the kingdom, I Sam. viii. 11; and he concluded with this prediction—"And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king, which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day." The experience of the world bears ample testimony to the truth of the prophetic description and prediction; and it may be therefore at once asserted that the happiness of the people is not consistent with absolute monarchy.

An aristocracy, or government in the hands of the nobility, has been also tried, and found to be unfavourable to happiness. One tyrant is bad enough; but thirty or three hundred tyrants are still worse. It is an evil when one man rules a people for his own pleasure rather than for their profit; but it is a greater evil when hundreds thus serve themselves at the public expense; when they meet, there is a combination of tyranny; when they part, each goes as a local tyrant into the neighbour-

hood in which he lives.

happiness.

A republic is of two kinds; one in which the government is in the hands of the multitude, which is bad, both for the place in which it assembles, which is ever liable to public disturbances, and for the provinces, which have little or no voice in public affairs. A multitude, from its very numbers, is incapable of quiet thought, grave debate, and calm decision. The noise, accidentally or intentionally made, prevents the greater part from hearing the matters under discussion; meanwhile, a turbulent few, wrought upon by designing men, dictate to the rest, and record their crude theories and violent determinations as the decrees of the majority. The other kind is a representative government, as in the United States, in which the people select a certain number from amongst themselves, to act in their name, and whose laws they promise to obey. In the United States, except in those parts in which the foul blot of slavery, left them by the mother country, still rests upon them, this system has worked most favourably to the general

The British Constitution is said to be a union of the monarchy, aristocracy, and representative government; but it is in reality little better than an aristocracy; the powers of government being in the hands of the nobility, who control the monarch, occupy the House of Lords and a large portion of the House of Commons, and so interfere with the election of the rest as to prevent the sentiments of the people from being represented in that House. In order to accomplish this, it is said, that they expended one million and a half sterling at the late election. The theory of the British Constitution has been virtually set aside, and the representative part of it exists in little more than mere name. If additional proof were wanting, the recent disclosures made by Mr. Roebuck, in the House of Commons, of the most extensive bribery and corruption, and of the sale of constituencies by private compromise amongst the candidates, would furnish amply sufficient evidence. To this source must be traced our cruel wars and oppressive taxes, our Corn Laws, which impoverish the people, and our Poor Laws, which pauperize them; and it is certain that good government, and the happiness which depends upon it, cannot be expected under the present system. As the most probable means of securing their own happiness. there remains, therefore,

5. The right to self-government by full, fair, and free representation.— This right might be claimed according to the theory of the British Constitution. For if "the powers that be, are ordained of God;" and if, by "the powers that be," we are not to understand any temporary usurper, whether on the throne or in either House of Parliament, but the persons recognized by the spirit of the constitution, then that House of Commons, whose decisions would have force, must be a body of men chosen without constraint by the men who directly or indirectly pay the taxes; and the present House of Commons, elected by the votes of comparatively few, and those few prevented, by bribery and intimidation, from expressing their real opinions, is not the House of Commons recognised by the spirit of the British Constitution, and consequently not amongst "the powers that be that are ordained of God."

This right might also be claimed according to the arguments of those opponents to universal suffrage, who maintain that such persons only are entitled to the franchise as in the opinion of society are most likely to exercise it properly; for how is the opinion of society to be ascertained but by asking the opinion of all the individual men of whom society is the aggregate? And what would be the result of thus taking the opinion of society, but that every man would think it desirable that he

should have a vote.

But if the will of God is the rule, and if the tendency to promote the people's happiness be the means of ascertaining that will, it is not enough to refer to the British constitution; the people have a right to that form of government which most conduces to the general happiness, whether such form accords with the British Constitution or not. If then God has created all men equal, in respect of rights, so that there is no respect of persons with him; and if his command is "to hear the small as well as the great;" if he leads us to value men according to their uprightness rather than by wealth or station, when he says "Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness than he that is perverse in his ways, though he be rich," Prov. xxviii. 6; and again, "Better is a poor and wise child than an old and foolish king," Eccles. iv. 13-then it is clear that the working classes are as much entitled to be consulted in the choice of a representative as the wealthy classes. Laws which affect the lives, liberties, and property of men, concern all who possess life, liberty, or property. Laws which affect trade and commerce, and consequently employment and wages, affect those persons most whose daily bread depends upon employment and wages. The rich man's servants may protect his flocks and herds; it is "the poor man that has nothing, save one little ewe lamb," that requires protection, lest the "rich man spare his own flocks and herds, and take the poor man's lamb." Since, then, the working classes are so deeply interested in just legislation, it must tend to their happiness, and must therefore be right, that they should have at least an equal voice with their richer neighbours in choosing those who are to legislate for them. This was the unanimous opinion of the Conference, recently held at Birmingham, between delegates from the middle and from the working classes. This right to self government is thus described in the Aberdeen Herald :- "No person has any right to manage any portion of my business for me without obtaining my consent, directly or by implication. But the public business is my business as much as it is any other man's. Ergo, no person has a right

to manage my share of the public business without leave given by me, either directly or indirectly, by consenting that the agent who is chosen

by a majority of my fellow subjects shall act for me."

It is possible, however, to concede the principles of self-government, and yet, through want of arrangements which may enable men to avail themselves of it, to deprive the concession of all practical benefit. In order to carry out the principle into practical operation, six things are necessary :--

(1). That every man twenty-one years of age, not disqualified by insanity or imprisonment, shall have a vote. It is objected that the people would not choose wisely; that a multitude is fickle and liable to be swayed by artful demagogues. The case of the Jews is cited as an instance of this fickleness; that on one day the popular cry, respecting the Messiah, was "Hosannah to the Son of David," and in a few days afterwards the cry was "Crucify him, crucify him," and that they then preferred Barabbas, a robber, to him who had formerly been the object of their admiration. This objection, however, chiefly tends to the discredit of the rich, and shows that when the people looked to them for instruction and example, they abused the confidence that was thus placed in them, and, to gratify their malice, gave an evil bias to their minds. When acting of their own accord, however, we are told, that "the common people heard him gladly," and that they wished to make him their king, whereas when they said, "Not this man, but Barabbas," we are expressly informed that "the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus."-Mat. xxvii. 20. This proof of the influence exercised over them only shows that,

(2). In order to obtain a wise decision from the people, they must be delivered from the influence of power and intimidation; and that, by means of the ballot, they be allowed to give a secret vote. It is to be hoped that, as the world improves, the class which now bribes will become more honourable, and the class which is bribed more independent, so that all may give an open and conscientious vote. In the meantime, since no man has a right to know how another man votes, and since the desire to know is from the base intention to prevent his voting according to his wishes, therefore there is nothing disgraceful in giving a secret vote. The same principle which directs a man to avoid ostentation by not letting his left hand know what his right hand doeth, will justify his avoiding intimidation by giving a secret vote. If the ballot is disgraceful, it is disgraceful to the men who have rendered such protection necessary. If candidates would address the electors through the press-meet them at some convenient place-answer such questions as may be asked-but would neither canvass for votes nor allow others to canvass for them; -if they would offer no money to purchase, no threat to compel a vote, but wait till the day of election and abide by the result, then there would be no need of the ballot. The opposition to the ballot, however, comes with a bad grace from gentlemen who, in their clubs and public companies, adopt the ballot as a means of escaping the resentment of those against whom they vote.

(3). At present a small town containing two hundred electors returns as many members as a large town containing ten thousand, thus giving to the two hundred men in one part of England the same influence in the legislature as ten thousand men in another part, and making one man's vote fifty times as valuable as the vote of another man. In order, therefore, to have fair representation, the kingdom must be divided into districts, each containing as nearly as possible the same amount of population, with convenient polling places in each district, to enable

every man to give his vote with the least possible loss of time.

(4). And whereas the requiring that a Member of Parliament must possess a certain amount of property is founded on distrust, implying that the people would elect persons who are unworthy of the honour, whilst in fact it has frequently operated to the admission into Parliament of wealthy ignorance and gambling poverty; and whereas the basest of men are sometimes rich, and have not unfrequently acquired their riches by their baseness, whilst the wisest and best men are sometimes not rich; therefore it is necessary to destroy all technical qualifications, and to leave the people to select, without any restriction, the men whom they deem most competent to act in their name.

(5). And since the labourer is worthy of his hire—since some intelligent men could not devote their time to the public service unless the means of support were provided for them—and since this principle has been adopted in the payment of Ministers of State, Judges, and Ambassadors, and was formerly adopted in payment of wages to Members of Parliament themselves,—therefore it is necessary, after selecting a representative without respect to wealth, to fix out of public funds a reasonable salary for such representative, deducting therefrom suitable fines

for absence from duty.

When the people's representatives had assembled to do the people's work, and to receive the people's wages, it would be an insult to the nation if the Minister of the Crown were to dissolve the Parlia-And since those members who ment before it had done its work. doubted their re-election might wish to retain their seats longer than a just responsibility will sanction, and the majority may, after the example of the long Parliament and of the Parliament which extended its own duration from three years to seven, prolong their existence, therefore it becomes necessary to fix the duration of Parliament. Instead of a septennial, some of the middle classes would substitute a triennial, and the working classes an annual Parliament; and although when the time of decision shall come the minority ought to concede to the majority on this point, yet it may be well in the mean time to consider whether a biennial Parliament, with one half going out each year, would not afford a point of union for the two opinions. It is desirable to afford the people once a-year an opportunity of expressing their opinion: it is also desirable to avoid crude and hasty legislation. A system, therefore, that unites annual elections with the continuance of each member in office for two years, would accomplish both these purposes. case each electoral district would have two representatives.

All these arrangements would fail unless the people had an opportunity of ascertaining the manner in which their representatives conducted themselves, for which purpose there should be larger accommodation for the public in the galleries of the House of Commons, with a fixed price of admission; and the power of ordering strangers to withdraw should be taken away. And as the greater part of the people would not have leisure to visit the metropolis to be eye witnesses of their proceedings, it is desirable that newspapers containing Parliamentary debates should be

made accessible to all. This would be accomplished by taking off the stamp duty, which, though only one penny, by diminishing the sale, increases the price by two pence, and causes the paper to be sold for five pence, which would otherwise be only three pence, and which effectually prevents those newspapers at one penny or one halfpenny each, which are in almost every man's hand in the United States.

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS, therefore, are-freedom of industry, freedom of trade, freedom of knowledge, freedom of religion, and freedom in the election of their representatives. Every man has a right to earn his own living with the fewest possible obstacles; to keep what he has earned without any demands upon it for State religion, State education, State charity, or useless wars. The people have a right to the land of the kingdom for the use of the present generation, without the fetters of primogeniture, and without the encumbrance of scholastic, ecclesiastical, and charitable endowments. Every man has a right to worship God according to his conscience; and if governed at all, to be justly and quietly governed. And since monopoly makes roques of all men, and since of all monopolies that of power, being the parent of all others, is the most grievous, therefore the people have a right to self government by their own representatives; the franchise being given to every manthe ballot to protect the franchise-equal electoral districts to render one man's vote as good as another's—the right to select representatives without respect to property—the payment of such members out of public funds-annual elections, and, if in due time such system should be approved, by means of a biennial parliament, one half retiring each year-and, that the people may receive intelligence respecting the conduct of their representatives, cheap newspapers by the removal of the

By these means a body of intelligent men would be convened, with power to destroy the unjust legislation of past ages, and to frame a simple code of laws which should give free scope to industry and secure

justice between man and man.

II. How to GET THEM.-1. By deserving them.-Whatever removes the objections which are commonly urged against the people's rights, tends to obtain those rights. The utter unfitness of the working classes for political power is the chief objection. The fears of the timid have been excited by descriptions of the calamities which would flow from the dominion of an ignorant multitude, a pauperized mob, a drunken rabble. It is not enough to reply that ignorance, drunkenness, and pauperism are not universal, or that the habits of drinking and smoking, and the vices attendant upon the theatre, the horse race, and the gambling tavern, were introduced by the wealthy and copied by the working Unhappily it cannot be denied that sottish ignorance and brutish vulgarity characterize large numbers of those classes. These are the men who have carried confusion and tumult into public assemblies; and, with liberty on their tongue, have denied freedom of speech to their fellow men, and have put down, by roaring and bellowing, the speakers whom they could not silence by argument. Who it was that introduced breweries and distilleries, or that licensed houses for tippling, is not now the question. It is for working men to see the evils, by whomsoever introduced, and to strive, with persevering energy, to remove them. Let not these faults be brought against them by others in the way of reproach, but by themselves for the purpose of amendment. It is as a means of gaining valuable friends, as well as for the welfare of the parties themselves, that it is necessary to insist upon selfreform as essential to every other reform; and to assert, that without industry and sobriety, without intelligence and economy, no political privileges can render men happy, If, however, the existence of bad men amongst them be an argument against the working classes having their rights, the same argument would hold against the trading and wealthy classes. Deceitful practices in trade, fraudulent bankruptcies, profligate conduct, gambling, and vice of every description, are too common to need further notice. If this rule were applied, all classes would be disfranchised, and all classes made worse than they are at present. The exercise of political rights has a tendency to civilize man; and, if given to the working classes, would afford important occupation to the mind, and fill that vacuum which now invites brutal excitement; it would give inducement for self-culture and self-respect, and would hold forth to the mind the hope of better days, with something to do for their attainment.

Above all, working men must shew by the moral means which they use in seeking the suffrage, that they will use none but moral means when they have it. Nothing has so much injured the progress of liberal principles as the threats of the torch and the dagger, the pike and the knife. A man, whose mind is familiarized with blood, and who can coolly talk of taking away human life in order to compel men to concede his demands, is a dangerous character in society, and one whose company every good man will shun. Violence begets violence. That which is sought by force may be lost by force; and if gained, must be kept by force. In vain the wind and the storm tried to divest the traveller of his cloak, whereas the mild rays of the sun led him to throw it aside of his own accord. He who complains that the rich have been too much regarded as his superiors, ought not to run into the opposite extreme, and treat them as inferiors. He should regard them as beings possessing similar feelings to his own; as having like combativeness, self-esteem, and love of approbation. With them, as with others, "a soft answer turneth away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger." In proportion to men's confidence in the power of truth will be their unwillingness to leave questions of right to be decided by appeals to physical force. If the proposed changes are for the good of all, they deserve the approbation of all; and in order to obtain it, they must be presented to their minds with clearness and simplicity. Time must be allowed them for weighing evidence, and a candid hearing given to their statement in reply, He that has truth on his side has a great advantage over every opponent, as he is not only emboldened by an inward consciousness of right, but he speaks to an adversary who has within himself a conscience ever ready to respond to the appeals of reason and justice. This is the power that turns the world upside down. It is "by well doing that we are to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men;" and by using "sound speech, that cannot be condemned, that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed." An undeviating regard to the lives and property of men is required by Him whose perpetual commands are, "Thou shalt not kill;" "thou shalt not steal."

In order to render himself worthy of the suffrage a man should divest

himself of that ardent desire for law making which has been so conspicuous. He would involve a nation in endless mischief that would interfere with the management of men's business—that would make laws to regulate wages—to tax machinery—or to fix the price of food or other commodities. The great thing required is the abolition of all laws which restrict trade and commerce—which tax industry—which meddle with religion, education, or charity—and to substitute a few simple laws for the preservation of order, for the speedy settlement of disputes, and for securing to every man the enjoyment of his rights. Trade, religion, knowledge, and charity will thrive best when untouched

by the withering hand of the State. The worthy citizen will cherish in himself a deep sense of justice. He will not, for instance, speak of the National Debt with that utter disregard to public faith, which has been sometimes displayed. The National Debt, it is true, was wickedly incurred for the purpose of carrying on an unjust war; but the present possessors of property in the funds are in no way answerable for this. If they may be deprived of the stock which they have purchased, the same principle would equally justify the taking away from any man his land or houses, inasmuch as it is certain that most of this kind of property was once taken by violence from its lawful possessors. The funds have been the readiest investment for the little capital of the widow and the orphan; and, on the faith of a great nation, they purchased shares in the National Debt in the same way as a man purchases debentures upon a railway. Whilst, however, common honesty requires that the National Debt shall be paid, it also requires that it shall be paid by those who owe it. was borrowed, as a mortgage on the land and property of the country, in order to protect that property from foreign invasion; and a tax or legacy duty on real property would be the fairest way of gradually liquidating that debt. If the practice of leaving wealth to those who are already wealthy were abandoned-if some respect were paid to that passage of Scripture which censures "bim that giveth to the rich," Prov. xxii. 16-if men would cease to bequeath large sums to religious and charitable institutions, which must eventually by such endowments become corrupt, and would devote their property to the payment of the National Debt, they would not only be philanthropists, but what is still more, they would be just men. It would, however, be an act of cruel injustice to make those suffer who happen to have property in the funds. The greater part of the owners of stock are not rich; the property of Savings' Banks, Friendly Societies, and Provident Institutions is deposited there; so that those working men who seek its destruction would lend themselves to do the dirty work of the most unprincipled portion of the landowners, and inflict a heavy blow upon their own class.

2. By making trial of them.—He that has served an apprenticeship well may set up in business for himself. When an inventor would obtain patronage for a new machine he exhibits a model, and allows the public to inspect its movements. And if instead of great haste to force upon an unwilling legislature untried institutions, an organization were contrived which would exhibit to the spectator the manner of their operation, then would thousands of men throw away their doubts and place confidence in the proposed plans. Let, then, the working men cease to petition Parliament; let them lay aside all anxiety to get the

name of the Charter enacted by the legislature before its principles are adopted by public opinion; and let them betake themselves to those practical measures that are within their own power; and if by the success of these experiments they obtain a verdict of the country in favour of these principles, the formal enactment of them into law will be a matter of course. In order to this, let them bring into full operation all the people's rights as far as can be done without an Act of Parliament. Let them divide the kingdom into 300 electoral districts; appoint a Committee of Management in each district; select polling places for each locality, in which every man, twenty-one years of age, may register himself, and be able to record his vote without going far from his own home; and provide each polling place with a ballot box. When the apparatus is ready, let the inhabitants of each electoral district be invited to recommend persons whom they think fit to represent them in a provisional assembly, to be called THE TRIAL PARLIAMENT; and when opportunities have been given to the inhabitants of each neighbourhood to hear the sentiments of the various candidates, and to ask them questions, then let a day be fixed on which the voting shall take place; and if the polling places are sufficiently numerous, the polling, commencing at the same hour all over the kingdom, will take so short a time as effectually to prevent any dishonest person from giving his vote in two or more places. When the result was ascertained by a Central Council there would be 300 men representing the average sentiments of the districts from which they come. After seeing the kind of men the people would choose, the next thing for the country to know is what they will do. Let these 300 representatives, supported by such salaries as the districts would furnish, consider what laws they would destroy if they had the power to destroy, and what laws they would enact if they had the power to enact. And in order that the public might know by what kind of reasoning they arrive at their respective conclusions, let the reporters of the press be present; and if the proposed code of laws were such as would bear the examination of moral philosophers and upright statesmen; if their conduct were more orderly and dignified than that of the House of Commons, then would there be gained for the new system a degree of public confidence which years of agitation and thousands of petitions could never obtain.

To this end, however, all classes of liberal men must unite. No one class can carry it into execution. A scheme that concerns all, must be submitted to the approval of all. Some of the most enlightened advocates of the people's rights are rich men; and if any working men are jealous of the appearance of such persons amongst them, it is clear that whilst they denounce class legislation, they themselves would legislate only for the class to which they belong. Unworthy suspicions of others generally arise from the baseness of those who suspect. He who regards man as man, and who beholds in every man a brother, will welcome all of every rank who are willing to assist in the great work of political regeneration. In this view, the National Complete Suffrage Union, recently instituted at Birmingham, under the auspices of Joseph Sturge, may be safely recommended, as a society in which liberal men of all classes may meet, and as being well adapted, through the agency of the Council appointed by the Conference, to carry out the above suggestions. It will be in their power to divide the country into districts, to organise

a system of registration and voting, and to give the people an opportunity of electing fit men to represent them in a Trial Parliament. It will be no disadvantage that this 'Trial Parliament will be destitute of power and patronage, and that its decisions will possess no legal There will be greater calmness in its deliberations, and greater fairness in its conclusions than if it were at once exposed to those contaminating influences which are now in operation in every department of the state. After revising the laws and institutions of the country, let the Trial Parliament be dissolved, and let the new constitution, which they recommend, remain before the public a sufficient length of time to enable every man to form an opinion; and let the Houses of Parliament have an opportunity, if so disposed, to pass an act giving to these recommendations the force of law. But until such measures have been adopted; until public opinion has been enlisted on the side of the Suffrage movement, and until legislators themselves have had the means of testing the system of Complete Suffrage by its practical operation, it is too much to expect them to become converts to it. Had it been gained by intimidation, before the intelligent portion of the middle and wealthy classes were convinced of its propriety, it would have been followed by no real good to the people, but, in all probability, would have thrown back for many years the cause of civil and religious liberty. To this conclusion came the powerful mind of the late Robert Hall, the most eloquent and one of the most enlightened men of his day. He says, "All attempts to urge men forward in the right path beyond the measure of their light, are impracticable if they were lawful, and unlawful if they were practicable. Augment their light, conciliate their affections, and they will follow of their own accord." It is believed that after this fair trial, the greater part of the present constituency, and all the truly liberal and honourable members of the House of Commons, will become willing to concede the people's rights; which they may then obtain,-

3. By taking possession of them.—When the public mind has been prepared for a change, there is no need of civil war, or of the beheading of monarchs, as in the time of Charles I. of England, and of Louis XVI. of France. When the leaders of the people are certain that they have the approval of the vast majority of their fellow-citizens, they have only to demand admission, and the doors of power will open to them of their own accord. But if there be any doubt respecting the wishes of the majority, or if the party in possession deny that the nation desires the change, let the Council of the Complete Suffrage Union publish an address to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, informing them of this doubt, and let them call together a second Trial Parliament for the express purpose of ascertaining this fact. Let the address con-

tain specific questions of the following nature.

Has there been sufficient trial of Complete Suffrage, or do you wish

the trial to be continued another year?

If the trial has been long enough, are you satisfied with the conduct of the representatives so chosen, or do you prefer the existing House of Commons?

If satisfied with the new system, is it your wish that the persons about to be chosen by you shall consider themselves as your only true representatives, and as such respectfully address the Queen, claiming the right to be considered as the third branch of the legislature?

If after full consideration of these questions the people elected a large majority prepared to adopt the new system, there is no power that could withstand them. Our beloved Queen would discern the signs of the times, and would recommend to the legislature to pass an act giving to the people's rights the force of law. The noble minded within the two Houses would assist the Queen and the people; and as the members of a former House of Commons once fled at the bidding of Cromwell, so would the shadows of representation, that had darkened the walls of St. Stephen's, disappear before the people's frown. There would be no need of refusal to pay taxes, or of a Declaration of Independence; but, as in the case of James II. of England, and Charles X, of France, the enemies of the people would retire from the People's House because the rightful owner had given them notice to quit. Those members who represented the drunken and the bribed—those mock senators who were elected by their own pockets or by the acres of some nobleman, would not dare to claim the style and title of the representatives of the nation, when the keen eye of that nation's intelligence and the knitted brow of a people's indignation were bent upon them; and from the hour of their departure would be dated, by future historians, the commencement of Queen Victoria's peaceful reign over a prosperous and happy people.

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

SCHOOL RETURN

FOR THE

DIOCESE OF BATH AND WELLS,

SHOWING THE UNCHARITABLE NATURE AND PUSEYITE TENDENCY OF SOME OF THE QUESTIONS CONTAINED THEREIN.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.,

'erpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

THIRD THOUSAND.

LONDON:

JOHN GREEN, 121, NEWGATE STREET; AND SAMUEL GIBBS, 5, UNION STREET, BATH.

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I'o. 18.

1842.

TO THE DISTRICT INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS.

REV. SIR,

I have received a printed copy of your appointment, by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, as "Assistant Visitor and Inspector of Parochial and National Schools within the whole Deanery of Frome;" also a printed paper containing "Heads of instruction for the use and guidance of Diocesan and District Inspectors within the Diocese of Bath and Wells;" also a printed paper of questions, called "The District Inspector's School Return for the Deanery of Frome and parish of Hinton Charterhouse, in the Diocese of Bath and Wells," to be filled up by me, and transmitted by you to the Bishop before the 31st of December; and, lastly, a Letter from yourself, requesting me to answer those questions, and informing me that they had been forwarded to you by the Bishop; and, as in the School Return I find a space left for "General Observations," with a request that I would "make any remarks which appear desirable," I accept such invitation, and proceed respectfully to comment upon some of the questions which I have been called upon to answer.

Under the head of "Religious Instruction," I find the following

questions:-

1. Do the children attend Divine service regularly twice every Sunday?

2. And on fasts and festivals?

To the former of these, expressed as it is in general terms, I can have no objection. I wish that every child of sufficient age, throughout the kingdom, were taken to some place of worship in which sound Christian principles and practical morals are inculcated in simple language, and in a kind spirit. But the latter question, respecting the attendance on fasts and festivals, is of a very different nature. This confines the meaning of Divine service, in the previous question, to the Established Church, as I take for granted that no dissenters observe fasts and festivals; and therefore involves at once a spirit of exclusion that I cannot approve. Three years ago, when the clergy of this Deanery were invited by the Rural Dean to meet at Frome, in order to petition Parliament in favour of placing the education of the country under the clergy of the Church of England, I gave my respectful protest against the petition, and cautioned the clergy who were present against attempting to grasp at any thing

so unreasonable, at a time when the people were looking with jealousy on the powers and emoluments which they already enjoyed. I stated that the funds to be provided were public funds, towards which all were compelled to contribute, to whatever denomination they might belong, and that it would be extremely unjust were the Legislature to appropriate those funds to the exclusive benefit of the Established Church. I have again to repeat these sentiments; and I feel the more induced to do so from perceiving amongst the questions many decisive indications that the grand object of this movement is to confer peculiar advantages upon all persons connected with the Establishment, and as much as possible to cripple and annihilate the means of instruction afforded to the children of dissenters.

Since I attended the meeting of the clergy of this Deanery at Frome, many cases of abuse connected with a system of education under the clergy have come to my knowledge, two of which I will state to you. One is in a town in Oxfordshire, in which an estate of £400 a-year had been left for the education of the children of the place in a school, the master of which was to be a clergyman. For many years there has been no school, but instead of the benefit intended for the people, the vicar of the parish received the whole income, in addition to that arising from his living; and resided in the house which had been intended expressly for the schoolmaster. The inhabitants of the town caused the matter to be investigated, and, during the present year, have compelled the vicar to leave the house, and to relinquish the income; and, when I was there two or three months since, I saw a new parsonage-house preparing for the reception of the vicar, and the school-house, recently repaired, occupied by the clergyman who had been appointed to the school. The other case is in a town in Hertfordshire, in which an estate, now worth £800 a-year, had been left for the education of the children of the town, where, in like manner, there had been no school for many years, and where the vicar of a distant parish received the whole amount, in addition to the income of his living. As in the former case, the more intelligent inhabitants of the place brought the case before the public, succeeded in depriving the clergyman of the educational endowment, obtained the appointment of another clergyman as schoolmaster, and had the pleasure of seeing the school reopened with great solemnity; there being a procession of the clergy to the parish church, and a sermon preached on the occasion. But the injustice done to past generations was not all; no sooner was this school opened, than it was announced that all the scholars must learn the Church Catechism and attend the parish church on Sundays. I recommended a person interested in this movement to protest against such an act of injustice, and on meeting him last month, I was happy to hear that in the case of his children, at least, the rule had been suspended; and I advised him not to accept it as a personal favour, but to require that a general rule

should be made which might include all dissenting families; and that, not as a favour, but as a right.

I have stated these cases, not with any desire to depreciate the clergy, whom I believe, as a body, to be as upright and enlightened as any other class of men in the kingdom, but to show how unsafe it is to entrust them, or any set of men, with a monopoly of education. However excellent may be the intentions of those who contrive such a monopoly, and however perfectly the system may appear to act for a time, it will inevitably, in the course of a few years, degenerate into abuse. The property of the Church was formerly appropriated to the support of the clergy, the repair of parish churches, and the relief of the poor; but whilst laymen were engaged in their own concerns, whilst the public mind was agitated with foreign wars, or political strife, and the public eye sometimes fixed upon these exciting objects, and sometimes closed in drowsy apathy, the clergy gradually threw from themselves the expense of repairing the parochial edifices and of relieving the poor; and the oppressive exactions of poor rates, and the unjust imposition of church rates were the result. Judging therefore by past history, and by the cases of endowments which have come to my knowledge, I infer that if there is to be noeducation but such as shall be under the superintendence of the clergy, there will, in the course of time, be no education at all.

But supposing all the children to belong to the Established Church, still I object to the observance of fasts and festivals, as in itself superstitious and mischievous. God has appointed one day in seven for rest; and with respect to the remainder of the week he has said, "Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do;" and who is he that shall substitute human inventions in place of the divine command. One day in seven is necessary for health, for mental culture, and for religious improvement; but agriculture, trade, and manufactures require all the rest. Men who have to support their families by honest industry cannot afford to lose their employment, and consequently their wages, through the observance of fasts and festivals, either by their employers or by themselves. Children who have but a small part of their youth allotted them for gaining knowledge that shall fit them for future action, cannot afford thus to lose their precious time. The Apostle Paul has warned Christians against such observances:-" How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observedays and months and times and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." Gal. iv. 9. Is it possible that Protestant England is going back to these fasts and festivals? One of the first effects of the Reformation in Europe was to open men's eyes to their impropriety. This is the language of Luther-"Let festivals be abolished, and none observed but Sunday: or if it is wished to keep the great Christian festivals, let them be celebrated only in the morning, and the rest of the day be regarded as a

working day. For since people do nothing on feast days but drink, play, run into vice, or waste their time in idleness, there is much more offence to God on these days than on others." If it be said that there is too long an interval between the Sundays, and that people require the public means of grace during the week to keep their good impressions from being erased, I answer, that I have no opinion of that man's religion which requires such perpetual nursing on the part of others. It is for himself to watch and pray; to form resolutions and to carry them into action; to search the scriptures, and grow in grace and knowledge, and if he neglect these things, though he may attend prayers and hear a sermon every day in the week, it will not profit him. The Apostle speaks of "silly women who are always learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth;" and to others he says, "when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God." Heb. v. 12.

It is a dangerous error to lead the people to rely upon ministers and upon public services for their religion. A foolish conceit of the superior sanctity of the clerical office is at the bottom of it; and although I am myself a clergyman, ordained deacon by one bishop, and priest by another, yet I candidly avow my conviction that a clergyman differs in no respect from any other man, any further than the devoting his whole time to study, and to the service of his fellow-men, may have given him greater knowledge of the scriptures, and of the evils which afflict human nature, and of their appropriate remedies. These were the sentiments of the Protestant Reformers; it was their perpetual employment to attack the pomp of prelacy, and the proud assumptions of a priestly caste. Luther says, "Let whoever enters into the priesthood, or joins a monastic order, be assured that the labours of a monk or of a priest, however arduous, differ in no respect, as to their value in the sight of God, from those of a peasant working in his field, or of a woman attending to the duties of her house. God esteems all things according to the faith whence they proceed. And it often happens that the simple labour of a serving man or woman is more acceptable to God than the fastings and works of a monk, because in these last, faith is wanting." Again he says, "It has been said that the pope, the bishops, and the priests, and those who dwell in convents, form the spiritual or ecclesiastical state; and that the princes, nobles, citizens, and peasants form the secular state, or laity. This is a fine story, truly. Let no one, however, be alarmed at it. All Christians belong to the spiritual state, and there is no other difference between them than that of the functions which they discharge. We have all one baptism, one faith, and it is this which constitutes the spiritual man. The unction, the tonsure, ordination, consecration by the bishop or the pope, may make an hypocrite, but never a spiritual man. St. Peter says, 'Ye are priests and kings'; although it does not belong to all to exercise such offices; for none can take to

himself that which is common to all, without the consent of the community. If a king had ten sons of equal claim to the inheritance, and they should choose one of their number to act for them, they would all be kings, though only one of them would administer their common power. The case is the same with the Church. If any pious laymen were banished to a desert, and having no regularly consecrated priest among them, were to agree to choose for that office one of their number, married or unmarried, this man would be as truly a priest as if he had been consecrated by all the bishops in the world. Augustine, Ambrose, and Cyprian were chosen in this manner. Hence it follows that laity and priests, princes and bishops, or as they say, the clergy and the laity, have in reality nothing to distinguish them but their functions. They all belong to the same estate; but all have not the same work to perform." "That there is no such thing as a priestly caste," says Merle D'Aubigné, "is the truth, hidden from the church even from its first ages, but which he (Luther) powerfully sets forth." "The pope," said Luther, "is no judge in things pertaining to the word of the Lord. It is the duty of every Christian to see and understand how to live and how to die."

Under the same head of "Religious Instruction," I find also the

following questions:—

5. Are they instructed in the Church Catechism?

6. Are they catechised by the parochial minister in church before or during Divine service?

10. Do godfathers and godmothers appear to take an interest

in the religious teaching of the children?

After the exposure of the consequences arising from a general use of the Church Catechism, made some time ago by the Bishop of Norwich, and of the thousands of falsehoods which children have been taught to utter, I had indulged a hope that the Church of England would either introduce a more rational and scriptural formulary of instruction for children, or leave it to those whose proper business it is. Who is to determine whether children have been baptized or not, supposing their parents not to be living? Who is to remember the names of the godfathers and godmothers? And what is the use of trying to impose this yoke of bondage upon the neeks of the people? The Church Catechism is a part of the Prayer Book that calls loudly for reform. In some large parishes a great portion of the children have been baptized by dissenters;—is the question, "Who gave you this name," to be answered by them by saying, "My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism; wherein I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven?" As to those who have never been baptized, it may be thought easy to supply the deficiency by performing the ceremony; but this cannot lawfully be done to those who have been baptized, even though the officiating parties were dissenters or laymen, since the law has decided such baptism to be valid. Is it intended, then, for ever to exclude such children? or is it intended to confound in them all ideas of truth and falsehood by making them declare as facts things which have never happened? I have been the incumbent of this parish more than sixteen years; and I have found that in almost all cases, persons take upon them the office of godfather or godmother without ever thinking of the duties they undertake. In former years it was customary for the parish clerk to stand godfather to most of the children; and since this has been put a stop to, I have known them to send into the churchyard and neighbourhood for any person whom they could get; and I have afterwards discovered that those persons had consented to come in consequence of the promise of a pint of beer. Many years ago I stated these circumstances to the Bishop of Bath and Wells; who acknowledged the justice of my complaint, but added, that as godfathers and godmothers could do no harm and might do some good, he was contented to let them remain. I consider it, however, the weakest part of the service of the Church of England; and I regard the abuses of it as so extensive, as to afford no hope except in its extinction. Is it not time to return to the simplicity of Christianity, and merely admit those children whose parents desire it by simple baptism in the presence of the congregation? Is there such magical charm in antiquity that we cannot throw aside ancient customs? Every thing else has been pervaded by the spirit of progress. Waggons have given way to coaches; coaches have been succeeded by railways; the dim oil lamps of our streets have yielded to the brilliant gas; the expensive postage has been superseded by the penny postage; machinery is doing the work of millions of men, and providing work for millions more; the whole world is in motion, even the system of education and of examination in our universities has been entirely changed; yet the Church of England, with her Prayer Book, sponsors, and Church Catechism, remains the same; and appears determined to fall, rather than by reforms to confess that the world is wiser now than it was two hundred years ago. The true son of the Church must, however, be a Church Reformer; for the language of the Church in the preface to the Prayer Book, is, "It is but reasonable that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein as to those that are in place of authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient."

Under the head of "Appearance, conduct, and condition" of the

children, I am requested to answer the following queries:-

4. Are their parents members of the Church of England?

6. Is a certificate of baptism required from each child on admission into school?

7. Have any children not been baptized?

If instruction in useful learning were the object of the framers of these questions; if they were impelled by the declarations of scripture, "That the soul be without knowledge it is not good;" and "He that winneth souls is wise;" the way to the school would be made easy, and the entrance wide; the only requisite qualification being souls deficient in useful knowledge, and the only principle of action that of winning them to it; but in these questions I see every attempt to make the way to the school difficult, and to discourage children from coming; and this too proceeding from the successors of those Apostles who were taken from their fishing nets in order that the enticing arts which they had been accustomed to use in order to catch fish, might be transferred to a more important sphere; and that they might by similar patience and ingenuity become fishers of men. But it is not the practice of fishermen to drive the fish from them; or to place obstacles in the way of their entering into the nets! If the instruction to be conveyed in our schools be good; if we desire to inculcate sound principles, and to train up the children in the way they should go, I am at a loss to understand the reason for refusing admission to any; or for imposing terms of admission to which conscientious parents cannot accede. The more ignorant and irreligious the parents are, the more need there is of instruction to the children from other quarters; the more we may suppose them to be surrounded by erroneous and strange doctrine at home, the more willingly should we receive them into the purer atmosphere of scriptural truth. When young children were brought to Christ that he should touch them, he did not ask for certificates of circumcision or of baptism; and in all probability they were not baptized; yet when his disciples would have rejected them he said, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not." It is not likely that the thief upon the cross was baptized, yet those gracious words were addressed to him, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." To lay such stress upon baptism appears to me to be a dangerous heresy; contrary to the principles of the New Testament, and to the sentiments of the first Reformers. We are distinctly told that Christ did not baptize; and the Apostle Paul thanks God in one of his epistles to the Corinthians that he had baptized none of them except Crispus and Gaius; for, says he, Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel. Why then do we transpose the sentence, and appear to hold forth to the world that we are sent rather to baptize than to teach? A sacrament as an outward sign is to a man, what the teaching by pictures is to a child; but are we therefore to think more of the picture than of the thing represented? more of the sacrament than of the thing signified thereby? The scripture never gives to baptism the importance that is now ascribed to it by some. Its language is, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned;" in the latter part of which declaration, all reference to baptism is purposely left out. That this was the view of the great champion of Protestantism, Martin Luther, may be seen from the following passage: "The better part of every sacrifice, and consequently of the

Lord's Supper, is in the word and promises of God. Without faith in this word, and in these promises, the sacrament is but dead, it is a body without a soul, a cup without wine, a purse without money, a type without fulfilment, a letter without meaning, a casket without a jewel, a sheath without a sword." "They may deny us the sacrament, but they cannot deprive us of the strength and grace which God has attached to it. It is not their will, nor any power of theirs, but our own faith that the Lord has made essential to our salvation. The sacrament,—the altar,—the priest,—the church,—we may pass them all by; that word of God which the bull condemned is more than all these things! The soul may dispense with the sacrament, but it cannot live without the word. Christ, the true bishop, will himself supply your spiritual feast." How different the spirit of those who have recently filled the country with their refusals to bury the unbaptized! or those who had been baptized by Wesleyan ministers! How strange the recent cases of marriage, in one of which the clergyman refused to marry a couple until he had baptized them; and in the other, the clergyman refused altogether to marry them, although the banns had been published three times, and not an objection had been uttered until the time of performing the ceremony; when this stickler for the rubric, without any authority from that rubric, asked the man if he had been baptized; and finding that he had not, he refused to go on with the ceremony! The compilers of the Prayer Book had not this superstitious regard to the outward act; they knew that when the Jews had taken in their literal meaning the words which Christ had uttered respecting the eating of his flesh, he corrected their mistake by saying, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." John vi. 63. Thus in the "Communion of the Sick," the Prayer Book has these remarkable words: "But if a man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and stedfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth."

Other questions under the same head are

8. Are any old enough to be confirmed?

9. Have they been confirmed?

10. Do such young persons receive the sacrament?

I do not pretend to know what may have been the effect of confirmation in former times, but I have witnessed enough in our day to

make me wish to see it abolished. In some persons it creates a superstitious trust in the efficacy of the mere ceremony; to others it is a grand festival, a time to see and to be seen; and too frequently ending in folly, drunkenness, and every kind of vice. I have heard more than one reclaimed drunkard, in giving an account of himself, date his first act of intemperance, or first intoxication, to the day of his confirmation; and on these accounts it is to many a subject of ridicule and contempt, bringing discredit upon our holy religion. If young persons of this parish were to ask me to examine them, and to give them a certificate for confirmation, I should be willing to do it; but for more than ten years my own desire has been that in any measure of Church Reform which may be adopted, the ceremony of confirmation may be entirely left out. You will perceive therefore that the attempt, by means of these School Returns, to give still greater prominence to the ceremony cannot be gratifying to me. I think also that it is very objectionable to set forth confirmation as a qualification for the sacrament. The following language of the Church Catechism is much more correct in this matter:- "What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper? Ans. To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death; and be in charity with all men." I am aware that the rubric enjoins that "none be admitted to the holy communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed;" but even these words imply that the mere act of confirmation is not deemed an essential qualification, but rather a preparedness of mind "to believe and to do all those things which their godfathers and godmothers undertook for them." And even if the words require a stricter interpretation, they are only to be compared with other directions of the rubric which have fallen into disuse, such as that the morning and evening prayer shall be said in the church daily throughout the year; and that, "So many as intend to be partakers of the holy communion, shall signify their names to the curate at least some time the day before;" which directions are not complied with. There is too great a tendency in the questions, in reply to which I make these observations, to lay more stress upon an ordinance than upon the disposition, principles, conversation, and conduct of the parties. The language of the Almighty is, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;" and of ceremonies, even though appointed by himself, yet when abused by mere outward observance, he says, "Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination to me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will

not hear: your hands are full of blood."-Isaiah i. 13. To persons of this character religious observances are only sins; sacrifices, confirmations, and sacraments only increase their guilt. They must leave their gift before the altar, and go and be reconciled to their brother by doing justly, and then come and offer the gift. That which God requires at their hands is not ceremonies and observances, but a change of temper, principles, and conduct, -new motives and new objects; these are his words:—"Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."—Isaiah i. 16. The proud and the cruel, the selfish and the covetous, the briber and the bribed, the intimidator and the intimidated, the man whose hands are stained with blood shed in the battle field, and the man who holds his black fellow man in bondage, all meet at the sacrament, and the clergyman administers the same without power to discriminate. It would be well then, in this state of lax discipline, rather to check thoughtless persons from approaching that solemn service, than to urge them to come merely because they have been confirmed. In all probability those wild young men of rank and title who occasionally disturb the streets of our towns at midnight, by wrenching off knockers, breaking the lamps, and knocking down the police, have been baptized and confirmed; yet who would advise them on that account to receive the sacrament? It is our duty to reprove the hypocrisy of a mere nominal Christianity rather than to encourage it. This at least was the conduct of the first reformers. In the homily "Concerning the sacrament," I find the following passages: "Happy it were, if among forty communicants we could see two unfeignedly give thanks." "But O wretched creatures that we be at these days, who be without reconciliation of our brethren whom we have offended, without satisfying them whom we have caused to fall, without any kind thought or compassion toward them whom we might easily relieve, without any conscience of slander, disdain, misreport, division, rancour, or inward bitterness. Yea, being accumbered with the cloaked hatred of Cain, with the long covered malice of Esau, with the dissembled falsehood of Joab, dare ye presume to come up to these sacred and fearful mysteries? O man, whither rushest thou unadvisedly? It is a table of peace, and thou art ready to fight. It is a table of singleness, and thou art imagining mischief. It is a table of quictness, and thou art given to debate. It is a table of pity, and thou art unmerciful." Upon the whole, therefore, I would rather see a question in the School Return whether young persons are thoughtful, intelligent, of known kindness of disposition and uprightness of conduct; and if, on explanation of the solemn event which the sacrament commemorates, they expressed a desire to be present, to admit them without any question as to their confirmation.

Under the head of Statistics, there are the following questions:

4. Have the dissenters any schools?

5. If so, how many children are educated in them?

6. Are there any means of reclaiming such young persons?

I hope that it is not expected of the clergy to become spies upon the concerns of other denominations. Our office is to instruct such as are willing to listen to us, rather than to ascertain the comparative strength or weakness of dissenting communities. In this parish the word schism or dissent is seldom used or thought of. The only place of worship besides the parish church is the chapel of the Wesleyan Methodists; and as my services are in the morning and afternoon, and theirs in an evening, they never clash, but the meeting-house is as it were a chapel of ease to the parish church. I am not aware that there is any feeling of hostility, or any idea of rivalry or competition, but both places are devoted to the instruction of those who are willing to go. As a proof of the unity of spirit which exists, I need only mention that our parish clerk, who is a worthy and intelligent man, and a sincere Christian, is also the steward and class-leader of the Wesleyan chapel, and the master of our daily and Sunday school; and I am told that some of the church singers sing also at the chapel, and that some of those who attend the church during the day are at the chapel in the evening, in addition to some who cannot get out during the day. Neither shall I do any thing to prevent it. So long as I have reason to believe that they preach the gospel, and take the sacred scriptures as their guide, I shall regard them as fellow-workers rather than as enemies. The disciples of Christ, in their ignorance, were ready to forbid those who were doing good in their master's name because they followed not them; but the enlarged spirit of their master rose infinitely above such narrow views, and he said, "Forbid them not, for he that is not against us is on our part." In like manner the great Apostle of the Gentiles, with a like noble liberality said, "Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will: the one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds: but the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel. What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." Phil. i. 15.

I cannot but express my surprise at the use of the word reclaim, as applied to dissenters. The logic of that learned dissenter, Dr. Watts, has long been used by students of the University of Oxford, and his admirable hymns for infant minds have been adopted in most schools for children. The sermons of another learned dissenter, Dr. Doddridge, on the evidences of religion, formed a part of our studies at St. John's College, Cambridge, at the time that I was an under-graduate; the writings of Dr. Pye Smith, and many other dissenting ministers of the present or past generation, have been spoken of in terms of high esteem by the most excellent of the clergy, who have been glad to derive benefit from their talents, piety, and laborious researches; and

shall we speak of reclaiming all young persons who place themselves under the instructions of such men! The most eloquent preacher, in all probability, that the world ever saw, was the late Robert Hall, Baptist minister, of Bristol. I recollect hearing him preach at Bristol about twenty years ago, at which time it was necessary to go an hour before the service commenced in order to make sure of a seat; and on one of these weekday services, I counted in the chapel no lessthan nine clergymen of the Established Church; and amongst them I saw a high-church clergyman whose father was an archdeacon. Being in his company some time afterwards, I said, "I was surprised to see you at a dissenting chapel the other night:" to which he replied, "I consider Robert Hall a phenomenon, and when the Almighty steps out of his way to make a man, I will go out of my way to see him." About the same time one of our bishops was heard to express his astonishment that a clergyman, to whom he was speaking, had been so deficient in taste as not to avail himself of the opportunity of hearing that great preacher. And yet, according to this School Return, we must regard all children who are under the teaching of such a man, as in a condition so deplorable as to demand our best efforts to Suppose a parish in which there was a drinking, huntreclaim them. ing, horse-racing, card-playing clergyman, who had bought or been presented to the living, who was determined to make the most of his tithes and fees, and to exact all his rights; but who cared not for the people; and suppose that in the same parish there lived an excellent minister of the Independent, Baptist, or Wesleyan denomination, whose life was in accordance with the precepts of Christianity, and whose unwearied efforts to do good amongst the grown up people and their children displayed the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind, shall I try to reclaim those who have placed themselves under the pastoral care of such a man, in order to lead them into the fold of him who is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep? The Bishop: of Bath and Wells is now, by extreme age, prevented from attending to the affairs of his diocese, or I am persuaded that these questions would not have been sent to the clergy of this county. During the sixteen years that I have been here I have never heard him speak with unkindness or disrespect of the dissenters; on the contrary, it is known by many that he has expressed his high esteem for Mr. Jay, the beloved and revered Independent minister of Bath.

Instead of wasting all our time in finding out the children of dissenters, and our energies in reclaiming them from dissenting schools, would it not be more profitable, under the head of Statistics, to ascertain how many persons attend the public-houses, the gin-shops, and the beer-shops? How many children are brought up in the habit of drinking and smoking? How many spend their time in idleness, swearing, lying, and stealing? and then to ask how we can reclaim them? Instead of drawing away those who are already receiving as good an education as any national school can give, would

it not be better to ask how many children are receiving no education at all? How many are brought up in a workhouse, where they will probably imbibe the feelings of helpless pauperism, which will remain with them all their days? How many are destitute of shoes and stockings, or of fit clothing to attend a place of worship on the Sabbath or a school during the week? How many of these miserable beings are in this condition through the idleness and drunkenness of their parents? and how many, through hard times, want of employment, and low wages? And if the intemperance and improvidence of the parents be the cause, would it not be well to try to reclaim them, by advising them to join a Temperance Society, and to encourage them to do so by practising total abstinence? And if it be want of trade and employment, and consequent want of wages, would it not be well to reclaim the wretches from their rags and misery by discovering and removing the cause of their poverty, and to call public attention to those oppressive laws which, for the supposed benefit of the landowners, the privileged dealers in provisions, restrict our trade, keep up the price of food, and keep down the wages of labour? If there are persons in America who are willing to take our manufactured goods provided we will not demand payment in gold, which they have not, but will accept it in wheat, which they have; if this taking off the present stock of our manufactures would immediately give employment to all the people, by calling for a fresh supply, and if the bringing in of American corn and provisions would increase the quantity of food at home, and therefore keep down its price, would not the working man have food at a more reasonable cost, and more money to buy it with? And is it not a noble object for the Clergy to set before their eyes, to reclaim a country from the curse of the Corn Laws, and from the poverty, ignorance, crime, and pauperism entailed upon the nation thereby? Instead of the fasts alluded to in the earlier part of this letter, how much better would it be to adopt that which God prefers! "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house?"-Isaiah lviii. 6, 7. Hitherto the Church has sanctioned these bad laws which the State has enacted. Tithes, which depend upon corn, are increased in value by the high price of corn; and, therefore, a system which would let in a supply of foreign corn, in exchange for our manufactures, would diminish the value of tithes! and this has alarmed many of the clergy; although it is to be hoped that the greater number, in opposing the repeal of the Corn Laws, have acted in ignorance of the real bearing of these laws upon the industry, the education, and the religion of the people. If the Church has been united with the State in order to make the State religious, the clergy ought particularly to study the effect of the Corn Laws upon the masses of the people; and, laying aside all regard to their personal interests, instil high and generous principles of justice into the minds of our legislators. Thus to reclaim the drunkard, to admonish the idle, to restore to the pauperized soul the feelings of manly independence; to protest against oppressive laws and to petition the Parliament, and to remonstrate with our legislators against their injustice, will find work enough for some years to come, without devoting ourselves to counting the numbers of the dissenters and trying to reclaim them. If one part of a parish is cultivated by one person and another part by another, and each sown with the same good seed, and the crop from both be given to the same owner, would it not be better to reclaim such land as has not yet been brought into cultivation, and to break up waste lands, rather than interfere with the neighbouring husbandman on the other side of the hedge? If we think our neighbour's plan of cultivation not so good as our own, we may have our agricultural meetings, and compare notes and suggest improvements, but by no means thwart him in the work, since the harvest is already plenteous and the labourers too few. It is in this way that I conceive the good of the country, and the welfare of our Church, may best be promoted by the abandonment of a selfish and exclusive spirit, and by searching out suitable remedies for our national evils; and if the application of these remedies require the sacrifice of power and emolument on the part of the clergy, so much the more opportunity have they of shewing the lofty principles of their religion. If the good Shepherd will lay down his life for the sheep, how much more would he give up any pecuniary interest in that which devoured the flock? How noble would it be in the clergy to come forward and say to the Legislature, If our tithes have hitherto been an obstacle in the way of free trade, we beseech you to lose sight of them, and to regard only the general good. If the wealth of the Church is burthensome to you, we will give up the six millions a-year of Church property as a substitute for your oppressive poor rates, your vexatious church rates, or to pay off a portion of the national debt: we seek not yours but you; and whilst we abjure all pretence to lordly titles, and renounce the love of filthy lucre, we desire the honour of resembling the Apostle Paul, that like him we may be able to say "We were gentle among you, oven as a nurse cherisheth her children. So being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us. For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail (as working tent-makers); for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God."-1 Thessal. ii. 7-9.

I have now, with all due respect, made such general observations as I have to make upon the questions proposed to me. I have not reflected upon yourself, as you have merely acted officially in trans-

mitting them to me; neither have I reflected upon the Bishop of Bath and Wells, inasmuch as I know that his infirmities prevent his knowing that such questions have been forwarded to me; and as I do not know who wrote them, whether others who act for the Bishop, or whether the questions have been sent from London as suitable for all England, I cannot do better than make my observations known through the press, that they may reach the authors of the questions, and also enlist the opinion of a Protestant public on my side, whilst I utter this as my respectful protest against the introduction of the uncharitable and tyrannical principles of Puseyism amongst us.

I am, Rev. Sir, your obedient servant,

Hinton, near Bath, Nov. 14, 1842.

THOMAS SPENCER.

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